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CHRISTIANITY AND NATIONALISM

IN THE

LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

BY

E. L. WOODWARD, M.A.

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LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
FOURTH AVENUE & 30TH STREET, NEW YORK
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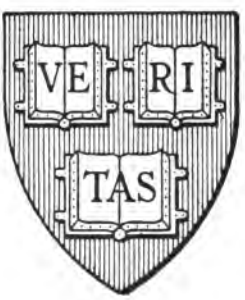

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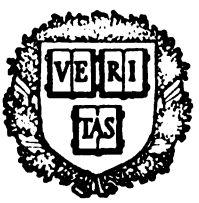

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PREFACE

In these days, some personal explanation is needed to justify the publishing of an historical essay.

On going down from Oxford in 1913, I was able—through the kindness of the President and Fellows of S. John's College and the Trustees of the Aubrey Moore Studentship—to plan out for myself a long period of research work in certain foreign Universities. It was my intention to spend the first year of the time in Paris; the second year in Freiburg, Würzburg, and Munich; and, possibly, a third year in Kieff, Moscow, and Petrograd.

This essay is—in its present state—part of the result of the year spent in Paris. I chose Paris because I thought that—in spite of the English tradition to the contrary—French scholarship was wider, deeper, and more balanced than German. A closer acquaintance with the work of French scholars more than justified this choice. I found—in the sphere of late Roman history—little or nothing of the political bias that has distorted nearly every word written by Germans about the first six centuries of the Christian era.

These preferences have been overwhelmingly reinforced by the events which have happened since the close of the academical year 1913–14. And while I had expected to spend these last two years in the pursuit of further knowledge, I have found myself once again on French territory, fulfilling the obligations of English citizenship.

I am now taking advantage of a period of sick leave in England to publish this essay, in the hope that it will suggest lines of thought valuable for the present day.

* * * * * *

The problem under discussion is: How far was the struggle between Orthodoxy and Heresy, in the later Roman Empire, really a political struggle between the central authorities of the Empire and the different nations of which the Empire was composed?

In a short essay, it is impossible to do much more than state the main facts of the case: I hope—at some future time—to be able to deal with the subject more deeply, and to cover a much wider period.

E. L. WOODWARD.

London: *April* 1916.

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CHRISTIANITY AND NATIONALISM IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE

It is one of the difficulties continually to be met with in studying a civilisation remote in time or character from our own that we must use a terminology that does not really apply: the spirit of an age as a whole colours every particular idea, and an imaginative reconstruction of the whole is necessary for a right understanding of the relations of the parts.

Thus the contrast between 'secular' and 'religious' is very different in a Christian and a non-Christian age. In a non-Christian age, such as our own, this contrast is sharp, and is growing sharper; the State, becoming secularised, regards it as its duty to ignore what it calls the 'religious' element in society; and, although in practice Christians may be the best citizens, yet the ideal of Christian orthodoxy may be in actual conflict with the ideals of the State.[1]

[1] As, for instance, in questions of divorce and re-marriage.

Persecution by the State for heterodoxy in religion is regarded as immoral,[1] and this immorality is often made retrospective to cover instances in past history. Religious minds, on the other hand, regard almost as blasphemous, and certainly as inexpedient, the introduction of Christianity into all the details, incidents, and partisanships of life that characterises a 'Christian' age—an age in which an earthquake-stricken city rewards its official benefactor by making him a bishop:[2] in which two circus factions, disputing with the authorities, at once appeal to their own orthodoxy and call their enemies heretics:[3] when a man who does not believe in the Resurrection is consecrated bishop, not out of cynicism, but in genuine faith that 'God would add belief to the man's other excellences, since divine grace is never content to leave its work unfinished':[4] when 'parties are political only because they are religious':[5]

[1] It is significant, however, that in some of the Latin countries there is, practically, persecution not only of the Church but of religious opinions in themselves.

[2] The people of Antioch chose as their bishop Euphraemius, Count of the East, because of his solicitude for their welfare after the great earthquake—*v.* Evag. *H.E.* 4. 6; cf. the election of Ambrose in 374 to the see of Milan, of Eusebius to that of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and of Nectarius to Constantinople in 381. None of these three were even baptised—cf. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 43. 25.

[3] Theophanes, i. 279–82, in the *Corpus Hist. Byz.*

[4] The man was Synesius: the faith was justified by results—*v.* Evag. *H.E.* 1. 15.

[5] The quotation is from M. Souvestre's book on Brittany. This study of Brittany—made in the first half of the nineteenth century—is very interesting as showing the almost fatalistic attitude of a modern 'Christian people' in the face of a great calamity—the cholera outbreak. This same attitude of faith—one cannot call it less—is seen

when missionaries[1] are ready to baptise thousands of converts at a time, and whole tribes undergo a kind of secular conversion.[2]

To the post-Constantinian Church there was nothing incongruous in this blending of secular and religious: there was scarcely a contrast, still less an antinomy, between them, the emperor combined in a pre-eminent degree both attributes in his 'sacred majesty'; government officials had recourse to renowned religious men, such as S. Simeon Stylites, for counsel; Justinian spent a great part of his time in legislating on the minutiæ of Church government,[3] and gave up long hours to the study of Christian metaphysics.[4] The monastic life was looked upon from the point of view not so much of the individual as of the community: it provided an example of true chastity and common life, and by a continual intercession drew from heaven blessings upon the more tangible (but no more practical) things of life—the armies and the cornfields; and its influence tended to peace and union.[5]

Thus the whole content of men's thoughts took

in the ecclesiastical writers, e.g. Evagrius, 4. 29 *ad fin.*; Greg. Tur. 5. 35; S. Ephrem, *The Plague in Syria*—cf. Evag. 4. 6. A comparison with very different treatment of the plague in Thucydides (Book II) brings out the difference between what one might call Christian and pagan realism.

[1] E.g. John of Ephesus.

[2] E.g. the Abasgi—*v.* Procopius, *Gothic Wars*, iv. 3.

[3] *v.* Justinian, *Novellae, passim.*

[4] Procopius, *Gothic Wars*, 3. 35; *v.* also the charges in the *Historia Arcana.*

[5] Justinian, *Nov.* 100.

on a Christian colouring. Intensity on one side led to similar intensity on the other; indifference became paganism—disbelief became devil worship. Theology was talked in the market-place; different solutions of the Christological problems were adopted by different provinces and peoples and advocated with a national zeal.

In part this may be ascribed to the Greek and the Levantine temperament; the Athenians had talked to their dogs about the One and the Many, just as the Alexandrians made popular songs out of the doctrines of Arius; it was from Asia Minor that the mystery religions had come into the Roman Empire. The driving of enthusiasm into theological channels has also been attributed to the absence of political interest in the later Empire. But the first explanation merely repeats the problem: the second is unconvincing: it is to be doubted whether in the minor affairs of local government or in bickerings with the imperial officials, or in civic and commercial rivalry with their neighbours, the congeries of cities, districts, and provinces which went to form the Roman Empire did not find a great deal of political interest.

Other explanations are possible; the psychologist might say that a period of long drawn-out catastrophes is generally an age of religion; it might be suggested that philosophy was popular because it talked the language of the people. A Christian would rightly add that a vivid interest in theological questions is quite normal, and that the abnormality

lies in the age to which such an interest seems strange. The truth is that no explanation suffices to account for a complex historical situation; all these causes played their part.

But there is one other factor that became more important as the empire began to decay; it is the part played in theological controversy by non-intellectual, nationalistic motives: the constituent parts of the empire had, as we have seen, great political interests, but little means of expressing in a concrete form the emotions of national or even urban patriotism, and the community of race or language. As local influences, therefore, developed different types [1] and schools of thought, drawing different conclusions from the common data of Christianity, it became a point of national or racial honour to uphold these different conclusions irrespective, to a large extent, of their philosophic value; the word 'honour' may perhaps be noticed. One does not wish to hold a brief for the interference of nationalism in the sphere of religion, but it is due to the memory of the Christian patriarchs of the fifth and sixth centuries to remember that, in the assiduity of their efforts to aggrandise their sees or to support doctrines adopted or propounded in their country, they were not moved only by selfish and personal motives.

[1] The different characteristics, for instance, of the schools of Antioch and Alexandria are too well known to need mention here. Greg. Naz. (*Or.* 43. 9) speaks of the students at Athens as organised under nationalities.

In order to analyse the consequences of this factor and its manner of working in the period from Constantine to Justinian, we must first review the religious and political situation as a whole, and then deal with particular provinces and the causes and effects of the imperial policy—always remembering that the distinction between *κοινὰ καὶ δημόσια* and *ἱερὰ πράγματα* is not absolute.

Looking first at the ecclesiastical situation, one sees the framework of the Church as a hierarchy of bishops, metropolitans, exarchs, and patriarchs. There had grown up in the West, by the middle of the third century, a *cursus honorum* beginning with the reader and leading up through the presbyter and archdeacon to the bishop.[1] The fourth and fifth centuries saw a great growth in the parochial system. Arius was parish priest of Baucalis, a district of Alexandria; and eight parishes are mentioned by

[1] Not strictly adhered to in the West in the case of persons of peculiar excellence; still less in the East, where the exception was more general than the rule. The existence of this 'cursus honorum' must not be misinterpreted to mean that the Church had become a stiff hierarchy, in which rank was everything and the piety of the individual counted for nothing. Such a view would overlook the fact that persons in quite minor orders often received very great consideration; this was especially the case with ascetics: e.g. S. Simeon Stylites was consulted by clergy and laity alike and a monastery grew up around his retreat. Popes themselves took counsel of S. Jerome. The Bishop of Caesarea sent for S. Basil—then only in minor orders—that he, the bishop, might not die out of communion with him. It must be remembered that the conception of personal sanctity was—in these ages of canonisation—much more vigorous than it is now. Cf. the frequent election to bishoprics of civilians who needed to be baptised before they could be consecrated to their sees.

name in Alexandria fifty years after the death of S. Athanasius; the development at Rome seems later, but the 'Liber Pontificalis' in the life of Pope Hilary mentions twenty-five parishes. The monastic movement, both in the form of S. Pachomius' religious colonies and in the more eremitical rule of S. Antony, spread from Egypt all over the East; from the East it was propagated in the West, first, it would appear, by S. Athanasius during his 'honourable exile' in Gaul. From the fourth century hospitals, orphanages, almshouses, and the like abounded.

The foundations of S. Basil at Caesarea were a model. The recognition of the Church's rights of inheritance, in 321, gave the opportunity for charity; while after 435 grants from pagan endowments increased the means.

When the existence of the 'Catholic Church' had been recognised by the State, it was natural that the prestige of the Church's officials should increase; in addition to the respect that had always been paid by the faithful to them as the recipients [1] in direct descent of the power bestowed upon the apostles, they now received, from the vague believers who flocked into the Church, and from the government itself, the prestige that the later Roman

[1] M. Batiffol in *L'Église naissante et le Catholicisme* seems to have established this point as against (A.) Sabatier, Sohm, and Harnack. In any case, these latter would find no fault with the view that 'Catholicism' existed after the reign of Constantine.

Empire invariably attached to an official class. But any advantage which this might have was counterbalanced by the fact that when the government allowed the Church's priesthood to receive the prestige of officials, it naturally expected the priesthood to recognise the corollary—the right of the government to exercise a more or less strict central control. This strengthened the bishops at the expense of the lower clergy; but in proportion to *this* increase of their power the higher Church authorities were more and more at the mercy of the State. From this point of view one can see the immeasurable importance of the withdrawal of Constantine from Rome and the preference of his successors for Milan and Ravenna.[1]

The greater ecclesiastical divisions of the empire followed more or less the lines of the civil divisions established by Diocletian and Constantine.[2] The

[1] The importance of this preference is, incidentally, not always realised; it implied a subjective state of mind on the part of the Emperor which separated him from the rest of the empire. He found the Roman aristocracy tiresome—probably, also, not sufficiently polite—and the people a very great nuisance. Hence the emperors were the first to lose the idea of Rome as the centre of the universe. Honorius, the other object of the secular adoration of the Western Empire, could have no illusions as to the divinity of the 'divine city.'

[2] Not entirely; there was no exact parallel to the civil diocese; the development of metropolitans was late in Africa, and never took place at all in Egypt. (This however is a resemblance in a different sense, because the civil organisation of Egypt was different from that of other provinces.) The analogy between the early Church Councils and the Κοινὸν Ἀσίας is very tempting, but it has little actual foundation—*v.* Batiffol, *L'Église naissante*, p. 270, and Chapot (also quoted by Batiffol), *L'Asie Romaine*, pp. 528–33 and also p. 466.

exact seniority and even the number of the patriarchates was long a matter of dispute—particularly between Rome and Constantinople.[1] The council of Nicaea (325) acknowledged the 'ancient custom' which gave predominance to the three sees of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria; it also assigned an honorary rank to Jerusalem. The council of Constantinople (381) wanted to give a second rank to the patriarch of Constantinople on the ground that Constantinople is 'New Rome,' but the canon was not accepted by the Pope. The council of Ephesus (431) made Cyprus autocephalous, thus weakening Antioch. At the council of Chalcedon (451) the position of Jerusalem was changed from that of an honorary to that of a real patriarchate. This still further weakened Antioch. The power of Constantinople was enormously extended, but the canon that contained the principle of the extension was again rejected by Rome. Justinian in his 'Codex' gave the 'Archbishop of New Rome' the second place in the seniority of the patriarchates, and this at last was confirmed by Gregory the Great, though the latter opposed the assumption by the patriarch of Constantinople of the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, and in his private letters favoured the old Nicene idea of three patriarchates.

[1] *v.* for a short summary of the question, Adrian Fortescue's *Orthodox Eastern Church*, and for an admirable discussion of the motives, and of the rights and wrongs of the case between Rome and Constantinople, Turner, *Cambridge Mediaval History*, vol. i.

Paganism had been practically left to itself until 382; before this Symmachus speaks of the deliberations and decrees of the pontiffs, and the offering of expiatory sacrifices, the feast of Magna Moralia and even the punishment of a Vestal's incest.[1] The more far-sighted Christians realised that paganism had little vitality; they saw that it could only rival Christianity by using the methods and even the doctrines of the Church, and that these new elements could never really attach themselves to the old pagan foundations. It was with this idea in his mind that Gregory of Nazianzus contemptuously termed the reforms of Julian *πιθήκων μιμήματα*. Athanasius, with more gentleness and equal foresight, encouraged Christians who were despondent at the pagan reaction: *θαρρεῖτε, νεφύδριον γάρ ἐστι καὶ θᾶττον παρελεύσεται.*[2]

The Emperor Valentinian took up an attitude of strict impartiality;[3] inter religionum diversitates medius stetit nec quemquam inquietavit.[4] But Gratian showed himself in the second half of

[1] Constantine in 319 and in 321 had legislated against the abuses of divination, and restricted the haruspices to the temples. After the death of Licinius in 324 officials were forbidden to participate in any public sacrifice, and no 'new idols' were to be erected. In 341 and 342 Constantius abolished 'the madness of sacrifice,' and ordered all superstition 'to be destroyed from top to bottom.' In 353 and 356 the punishment of death was affixed to idolatry, and the temples were closed. The text shows how little these laws were observed. The Mithraeum at Rome was repaired even in the last decade of the fourth century.

[2] Soz. *H.E.* v. 15.

[3] Except towards magical practices.

[4] Amm. Marc. 30. 9.

his short reign 'Christianissimus'; he refused the insignia and title of pontifex maximus; he removed the altar of victory from the senate house and confiscated pagan endowments. The laws of Theodosius and Valentinian absolutely forbade even the visiting of temples; the pagan reaction under Eugenius was short-lived; and in 395 Honorius and Arcadius repeated the prohibitions of Theodosius.

The fact that paganism survived for so long and to such a degree that Justinian, for example, should find it necessary actually to depute missionaries for the conversion of the heathen in Lydia, and that these missionaries could make converts by the thousand, is due partly to the natural backwardness of country districts—Synesius tells how the country folk behind the Pentapolis imagined that the Emperor was called Agamemnon, and that he had a friend Ulysses; partly to the number of immigrants—Teutons and others—into the empire; but above all to the unwillingness of the governing class to carry out the anti-pagan laws.[1] For it was amongst the governing class, particularly in the west, that the old Roman traditions survived;[2] Christianity was simply ignored.

The essence of the neo-paganism adopted by the

[1] v. Boissier, *La Fin du paganisme*: also Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, and especially the chapter on 'The Tenacity of Paganism.'

[2] For the rise of this tradition amongst the literary class, v. Boissier *Tacite*.

cultured from the time of the Antonines onward is[1] admirably stated by Harnack:[2] 'The cultured . . . had no longer a religion in the sense of a national religion, but a philosophy of religion. They were, however, in search of a religion, that is, a firm basis for the results of their speculations, and they hoped to obtain it by turning themselves towards the very old oriental cults and by seeking to fill them with the religious and moral knowledge which had been gained by the schools of Plato and Zeno.' One can see how Christianity would not satisfy them—how it would, from the first, not even be considered. For its social status was lower even than that of Judaism; it was anti-imperial; it meant a break with pagan art and culture; it required the absolute acceptance—upon an authority that seemed merely a *petitio principii*—of definite facts and dogmas; and the early rejection of gnosticism and the persistent hostility to 'theosophies' showed that the cultured convert would not be allowed to read into Christianity, as he could read into Mithraism, whatsoever philosophy he desired. In the post-Constantinian Church these objections were no longer valid, but the tradition once formed could not—amongst the naturally conservative class of a conservative age—be broken.[3]

[1] It would be more true, perhaps, to say from two or three generations before the Antonines.

[2] *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. trans.), i. 229.

[3] The difficulty of breaking such a tradition can be illustrated by a modern parallel. The Oxford Greats School, on both its philosophical

The oriental cults afforded, in their ceremonial, the ordered and modulated excitement which the cultured classes demanded, and appealed to the taste for archæology which much reading of Virgil had made almost into a passion. Mithraism, at least, was a masculine religion and preached a lofty morality; the worship of Isis and her child (in spite of the grave disorders with which it was, on occasions, accompanied) introduced an element of personal emotion and a gentleness that must have had an influence for good. But these religions gradually gave place before Christianity, and the philosophy with which, in the minds of the educated, they were combined, disappeared before the novel and more absorbing problems of Christian theology. Neo-platonism by the time of Justinian was practically dead, and its place taken, in the minds of men like Procopius, by a curious amalgam of superstition, orthodoxy, and aloofness. The last neo-platonic philosophers were driven from Athens by Justinian. They sought refuge in what they took to be the court of a philosopher-king—Chosroes of Persia. They were soon disillusioned and gladly

and its historical sides, adopts almost exactly the attitude of the late Roman pagans. It remains dominated by the peculiar circumstances of its Renaissance origin. All these circumstances have passed away, and the School is now, from the logical point of view, a meaningless anomaly. For in considering what may be called the problems of existence—so far as the School does seriously consider them—the Christian solution is tacitly set aside. It is not disproved: it never has the opportunity of stating its case; and this not for philosophical but largely for literary and 'accidental' reasons.

availed themselves of the Emperor's permission to return within the confines of the Empire.

Long before her recognition by the State, the Church had devoted much energy to the expressing of her belief in terms of the best philosophic thought of the time; of the three most prominent thinkers of the third century, the greatest had been the Christian Origen. Throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, and on into the reign of Justinian, doctrinal controversies were concerned chiefly with two main questions: first, What is the real relation between Him whom we call the Father and Him whom we call the Son? secondly, In what sense did the Son take upon Himself our humanity? There were other important questions—for example, What strange necessity was the cause of that Work and Act of Restoration which has been performed by the Incarnate Son? This involved the problem of free will, and of evil; for the latter the Manichaeans offered a solution which cannot remotely be called Christian.[1] The Church had still to develope her doctrine of the Holy Spirit; there were numerous small points, such as the question whether our Lord's body was corruptible or incorruptible. Somewhat distinct from the theological controversies proper was the problem which led to the Donatist[2]

[1] Harnack rightly says (*Hist. of Dogma*, iii. 329, Eng. trans.) that Manichaeanism 'did not rise in the soil of Christianity. We would even be better justified if we called Mohammedanism a Christian sect.'

[2] Donatism, at first only a schism, was declared a heresy by an edict of Honorius issued in 405 at the request of the Church, *v. infra*, Chapter II.

and Priscillianist heresies: Was the Church to keep to the old conception of herself as a small body standing entirely apart from the world, having little to do with earthly institutions, or was she herself to become an institution [1] both akin to and different from the State—different in that the benefits she conferred were the consolations of the sacraments and a spiritual salvation; akin to it in that these benefits were conferred by recognised officials, in virtue of their official capacity, not of their personal character? The Church accepted the larger responsibility, trusting to her inherent virtue to absorb, like the sea, the impurities and unworthiness that she would be bound to contain; and the relationship of the Church and the civil government after Constantine is perhaps well symbolised in the door of the basilica of S. Sabina, where a prince, with an angel at his side, and before a temple, receives the homage of the aristocracy and people.[2]

Resistance to this decision of the Church had, as we shall see, important results, particularly in Africa and Spain, but the heretical answers to the doctrinal questions had far more lasting and widespread consequences. Arius had distorted the faith

[1] *v.* esp. Harnack's *Essay on Monasticism.*

[2] *v.* Hauptmann Grisar, *Histoire de Rome et des Papes*, i. 269 (French trans. from the German), and Wiegard, *Das altchristliche Hauptportal an der Kirche der h. Sabina* (Trier, 1900). The old explanation of the prince as Zacharias seems to fall to the ground, because the clothing is not the *lacerna* used in depicting the vestments of Jewish priests, but the *chlamys* worn by Constantine on his arch, and by Justinian in the Ravenna mosaics.

of the Church and offered a compromise which would be especially attractive to minds steeped in neo-platonism by denying that the Son was of the same essence—was God in the same sense—as the Father. The second great question Nestorianism claimed to answer by maintaining that there were two distinct Natures after the Incarnation, and that it was blasphemous to call the Blessed Virgin *θεοτόκος*. The Monophysites went to the other extreme, and held that there was only one Nature after the union of human and divine in the Incarnate Son.[1]

Arianism was anathematised at the council of Nicaea in 325. Nestorius was deposed by the council of Ephesus in 431. Twenty years later Monophysitism was condemned at Chalcedon. Donatism was declared a heresy in 405 by an edict of Honorius, issued at the request of a council at Carthage. Priscillian was put to death by the usurper Maximus in 385 after his cause had been officially disavowed by the papacy.

It is with the political side of these five heresies that we have to deal.

* * * * *

[1] It should be remembered that no suggested solution to any of these doctrinal problems was *ipso facto* heretical, any more than it was *ipso facto* orthodox. Such answers only became orthodox or heretical after the Church had passed judgement on them by a provincial or general synod. The fault of the heresiarchs and their followers lay not in the region of speculation, where freedom and boldness were valued, but in their refusal to submit their individual judgements to the judgement of the Church as a whole in matters that concerned the Church as a whole.

The simplest and most satisfactory method[1] of studying the Roman Empire is that of the Emperor Hadrian—one must see it province by province; for the diverse civilisations of ancient Hellas, Hellenistic Asia, Ptolemaic Egypt, Punic Africa, and romanised Gaul, Spain, and Britain, although linked together and governed by an international bureaucracy, never formed a homogeneous whole.[2] The two foci—Rome and Constantinople—of the ellipse roughly formed by the area of Mediterranean civilisation gradually became centres of separate circles—a Latin (from the sixth century we might almost say a Teutonic) federation in the West; a Greek federation (from the sixth century, again, we might almost say a Levantine federation under Greek hegemony) in the East.

One can see in little matters how great was the divergence of interest and association between East and West. S. Basil, for example, who drew metaphors and examples for his sermons from every conceivable source, scarcely ever refers to the events of Roman history; his congregation would have found them unfamiliar and uninteresting. The cleavage between the Latin and Hellenic elements showed itself in a difference of attitude towards their common religion:

[1] It is a method followed almost instinctively by those who have read Mommsen's *Roman Provinces*.

[2] It would be an interesting task to collect the correspondence between members of the civil service in the Eastern and Western branches of the Empire and to compare it with the correspondence of bishops in the Eastern and Western branches of the Church.

the East concerned itself principally with the problems of Christian metaphysics, and employed a philosophic terminology which was often unintelligible to the Latin-speaking West; Gregory of Nazianzus in his panegyric of Athanasius remarks roundly that the Latin language had no words to distinguish between *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*.[1] The West was occupied rather with the problems of the Christian life, and treated of sin, and the freedom of the will, in language very largely juristic.

The distinction may be pressed too far.[2] The aristocracy of learning, like all aristocracies, was largely cosmopolitan.[3] The West produced meta-

[1] This is not strictly true. Socrates (*H.E.* iii. 7) says that Hosius of Cordova had already distinguished between the two before the Council of Nicaea. The Roman terms would be *substantia* and *persona*. But Gregory is right in so far that the words would not have the same connotation, and, what is more important, the same associations for Latin-speaking Christians as the Greek words had for the Greeks. Harnack, (*Hist. Dog.* iii. 310) says—somewhat exaggerating the truth—'Father, Son, and Spirit were held to be "personae" who possessed a common property—"substantia," not "natura."' Our Lord as a 'persona' inherited a twofold property: divinity, from God; humanity, from the Blessed Virgin. The ignorance of Greek in the West in the seventh century is remarkable. Vigilius lived in Byzantium for eight or nine years without learning Greek; S. Gregory the Great did the same, though he was actually papal apocrisarius.

[2] It seems exaggerated, for instance, in the Rev. W. Temple's essay on the 'Divinity of Christ' in *Foundations*, and it is an exaggeration which can lead to very serious historical, philosophical, and dogmatic misunderstandings.

[3] There was also more travelling among all classes of society than there is to-day, under the *régime* of nation states. (Note, for an evidence of this near home, the size of the Roman inn at Silchester.) This travelling was, to a certain extent, only between certain groups of provinces; but Rome, and, to a lesser degree, the Holy Places, attracted an enormous number of pilgrims.

physicians—S. Hilary, S. Leo, and, above all, S. Augustine; the patriarchate of Alexandria was, until after Chalcedon, in close and almost unbroken communion and intercourse with Rome;[1] the ascetic and monastic movements, which were far more ethical than metaphysical in character, had their origin in the East. The great legal codes of Theodosius II and of Justinian came from the Eastern Empire. There was a famous law school at Berytus; the leading families of Cappadocia, from whose ranks were drawn the Cappadocian divines, were all connected with the bar, and their sons received legal training. Many eminent Syrians —Procopius,[2] for example—despised metaphysical controversy, and studiously practised what they considered to be the old Roman ideals.

Further, it should be remembered that the imperial bureaucracy was all-powerful in the East and in the West, and that the underlying ideas of the imperial system were dominant in the intellectual life of the whole Empire; it was from these ideas, in the absence of any great extension of the biological or psychological sciences, that theology and philosophy drew

[1] On the other hand, from the coming of Constantine in 323 to the death of Justinian in 565, Rome and Constantinople were at schism (neglecting little ruptures) for a period of 101 years: (α) Concerning S. Athanasius: from the council of Sardica in 343 to the coming of S. John Chrysostom to the see of Constantinople in 398 (fifty-five years); (β) concerning the condemnation of S. John Chrysostom, 404–415 (eleven years); (γ) concerning the schism of Acacius and the Henotikon 484–519 (thirty-five years)—*v.* Duchesne, 'L'Église grecque et le schisme grec,' in *Églises Séparées*.

[2] *v.* F. Dahn, *Procopius of Caesarea*.

their metaphors; or rather—for the influence was deeper, and therefore, at the first glance, less perceptible—it was upon the analogy of these ideas of a firmly closed hierarchy, a balanced gradation and transmission of power, that men, learned and simple, formed their very conceptions of God and His ways with man; there was thus at the bottom of all speculation a common and uniform element, such as is now afforded to the intellectual outlook of Western Europe by the spread of the natural sciences irrespective of national boundaries.[1]

Even in regard to the barbarians who made ultimate the distinction between East and West by almost destroying (or rather transforming) the secular power in the West, there is some similarity. The East did not escape from the Teutons: it only avoided being overwhelmed by them by opposing

[1] Theology might perhaps gain in the understanding of this period if it took into account the dominance of the idea of this administrative hierarchy. Those who agree with Harnack as to the 'Hellenising and "depotentiation" of Christianity' often forget that Hellenism itself was affected by the general notion of Imperium. Theology, Christian and neo-pagan alike, was not so much anthropomorphic—no more anthropomorphic than it must necessarily be—nor so much juristic as administrative in its modes of thought. Plotinus, in his attempt to avoid an anthropomorphic conception of the Absolute, has worked out his cosmological scheme on the lines of an official hierarchy or a state department. From this point of view the difference between Plotinus and Bergson would appear only as the difference between the expression of the same 'unexpressible' idea in terms of biological and psychological metaphors and in terms of a rigid bureaucracy. It is possible that an Indian who had come into contact with the English Civil Service of India might, naively, attempt to explain his thoughts by the same method as Plotinus.

Eastern to Western barbarians; and though, under Anastasius, Roman names regain prominence in the Eastern Empire, many of these names—and the number increased as time went on—were borne by Isaurians, Armenians, or Slavs. The prominence of Armenians in the armies employed by Justinian to expel the Teutons is noteworthy.[1]

Further, by taking the Empire province by province, it is possible to see that this over-emphasis of the distinction between East and West slurs over other and equally important distinctions. There was not only one antithesis, and there were not only two conflicting civilisations. The very outlines of ecclesiastical history show the importance of the Semitic element, whether diffused throughout the Empire, or located in North Africa or Syria. Alexandria, again, often had more in common with Rome than with Antioch; the rigid separatism of the Judaco-Christians in the early days of Christianity has its closest parallel in the Donatism of Africa; the orthodox Christians of Asia Minor resisted Gnosticism and Montanism by an appeal to their ancient customs; the Church in Syria adopted a

[1] *v.* Bussell, *Const. Hist. of Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii. The account in Procopius (*B. V.* ii. 27) of the assassination of Guntharis by Artabanes shows the dislike felt by the Armenians to the Teutons. Gregory incites Artabanes to action by reminding him of his high birth and the traditions of his ancestry: Guntharis is only a 'drunken dog.' Belisarius indeed was a German, but Narses, the greater general of the two (if we can judge from Procopius), was a Persarmenian.

more mystical and oriental defence of the episcopate;[1] Byzantine art is more Syrian than Greek, and Byzantine society approximated more, as time went on, to that of the Caliphate of Haroun-al-Raschid than to the society of the Attalids, or of the Ptolemies, or of neoplatonic Athens.

Behind the contrasts, therefore, upon which historians and philosophers have based their neat and formal generalisations there lies an inchoate mass of conflicting instincts (the air of the Roman Empire always seems clouded with dust rising from the débris of the fallen past,) the force of which must be inferred from results where it cannot be measured by documents.

We are to come into contact with these facts first in connection with Donatism. But it is essential to counterbalance a study of the pathological side of Church history by keeping in the mind a picture of what was the normal Church life. The too candid friends of Christianity often wrong their faith by sighing over the discreditable outbursts of violence, such as that which resulted in the murder of Hypatia, as though those unpardonable acts, and the 'crowd-madness' of which they are in part the outcome, were the main feature of post-Constantinian Christian history. But the moral prestige of the Christian episcopate, and its general reputation for mercy and justice, can only be accounted for by supposing the

[1] *v.* S. Ignatius, *Epp., passim.*

existence in its ranks of numbers of quiet men who led their flocks in ways of gentleness.

Occasionally a record of the influence of these men finds its way into written history. Theodoret [1] tells how the people of Samosata, after their well-beloved bishop Eusebius (the friend of S. Basil) had been murdered by an Arian fanatic, besought the magistrates to have pity upon the assassin: to such an extent had the flock imbibed the spirit of their pastor. Procopius [2] describes an otherwise obscure bishop of the sixth century as '*ἀνὴρ δίκαιός τε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦσαν ἐς ὅ τι βούλοιτο ἀεὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔχων οὗ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἰδὼν ἄν τις εὐθὺς εἴκασεν ὅτι δὴ τῷ θεῷ ἐνδελεχέστατα κεχαρισμένος ὁ ἀνὴρ εἴη.*'

This normal Church life can be seen in the 'larger letters,' as it were, in the almost uneventful and therefore little recorded orthodoxy of the Church in Greece. Ecclesiastical Greece was in the diocese of Illyricum Orientale, which, until the time of Leo the Isaurian, remained under the jurisdiction of Rome. The position for Greece was a happy one: she shared in the more peaceful orthodoxy of the West, while avoiding the continual persecution—after the beginning of the fifth century—of Arian invaders, and in the intellectual life of the East, while avoiding the embittered doctrinal controversies.

[1] Theod. *H.E.* v. 14.

[2] Proc. *B.P.* II. 13. The bishop was one Barodotus of Constantina, who interceded successfully with Cabades of Persia for the preservation of his city.

The history of Greece from Constantine to the coming of Alaric, and again from Theodosius II to Justinian, is one of considerable prosperity. The Gothic invasions of the third century and the financial reforms of Constantine had swept away the great oligarchs, such as the notorious Herodes Atticus. The damage done by the Goths is often exaggerated.[1] Greece, as Finlay points out,[2] must have gained economically from the number of fugitives from the more afflicted districts to whom she gave shelter during the Gothic troubles suppressed by Theodosius. The wars in general were, from one point of view, a stimulus to vigorous, united, and public-spirited action; even the wealthiest had to exert themselves in the protection of their property, while the desertion and capture of thousands of slaves must have benefited the freemen.

The invasion of Alaric caused more grievous distress, but even the damage done by him has been exaggerated. It was due partly to the unwalled character of many of the cities, a condition brought about, as Zosimus roundly says, *διὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πλεονεξίαν*. But Theodosius II exempted the cities of Illyria from taxation in order that they might recover from the damages they had received, and under the careful emperors from Theodosius II

[1] E.g. G. Hertzberg, *Griechenland unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, vol. iii. Every successive wave of invasion bears singly the blame for the whole storm, and for the ruins brought about by earthquake and decay and the depredation of subsequent builders.

[2] Quoting Zosimus, iv. 20.

to Anastasius and Justin, Greece recovered not a little of her prosperity.[1]

Athens, which throughout the later Roman Empire reaped the aftermath of the artistic and philosophic activity of her ages of greatness, suffered, it is true, from the foundation by Theodosius II of the State University of Constantinople. Synesius described her as famous only for her honey, but Synesius himself felt the mystic glamour (Hellenism seen in a neo-platonic light) clinging about her.

This romantic atmosphere passed into Christianity; Helios the rider in the chariot of the heavens only gave place to Elias,[2] and Hercules and Theseus to another slayer of dragons: men slept in a Christian Church, just as they had slept, to win miraculous cures, in the temple of Asclepius. The adoption of Christianity had meant the revival of oratory, the raising of the general intellectual level which had fallen sadly from the old standard, an improvement in morality, and particularly in the condition of women: Hypatia and Eudocia show the opportunities which were present for the higher education of women.[3] The persecutions had united clergy and

[1] Even those emperors who had not a sentimental passion for Greece—like Julian—took care that she should have good governors. These governors included Praetextatus and Rufus Festus.

[2] *v.* Hertzberg, iii. 446–53.

[3] This fact is noteworthy as explaining the prominence of women in the fifth and sixth centuries, particularly in Byzantium. This prominence does not seem to be merely a fanciful invention of the romanticist historians and sentimental novelists of Byzantium. Diehl in his *Figures Byzantines* has shown that this predominance can be

people; Finlay says rightly that 'Christianity connected itself with the social organisation of the people, without meddling with their political condition'; and the rise of heresies had resulted in the assembling of provincial synods to defend the orthodox position.[1]

From the first the Greek bishops had supported the creed of Nicaea, and Greece was little troubled by the Arian quarrels. The Julian reaction was less noticeable, though it meant the loss of the privileges of the clergy and of any grants that had been made out of pagan endowments, because the orthodox had not found the *régime* of the Arian Constantius any too favourable, and, perhaps we may add, because the Christians could see from the lethargic response to Julian's enthusiasm in the very strongholds of ancient Hellenic paganism that the emperor's attempts were not destined to any permanence. In the short reign of Jovian the Christian Church was again restored to favour: a Christian church was built at Corcyra[2] out of the ruins of a temple. Greece was fortunate enough to escape the rule of the Arian Valens; she was included in the dominion of Valentinian, and Valentinian was, in fact, tolerant of everything except black magic practised for

seen in the etiquette of the Byzantine court, which is as valuable for constitutional history as the household details of the Normans; Angevins, and Plantagenets are for the constitutional history of England.

[1] It is interesting to see how Christianity in a great measure provided that unifying influence which the most far-sighted men of classical Greece had sought from Delphi.

[2] v. Hertzberg, iii. 304 *and note* 37.

political ends.[1] The restoration of the Christian Church to her previous position was secured by the withdrawal of Julian's embargo against the Christian professors at Athens.[2] In the two great heresies subsequent to Arianism Greece showed herself again orthodox. Only one important bishop, Basil of Larissa, ever favoured Nestorianism; the Greeks were continually hostile to the Monophysites; the dislike felt to Anastasius was almost entirely due to his heterodoxy; forty bishops in Illyria and Greece broke off from communion with the archbishop of Thessalonica when the latter declared his adherence to the policy of Constantinople.

The history of this Church, supporting that theology which itself owed so much to the 'collective culture' of Hellenism,[3] naturally comes to an end with the death of Justinian. The closing of the schools of Athens by Justinian marked more than the fall of neo-platonic philosophy; for, as Hertzberg notices in his concluding words, the subsequent history of Greece is that of 'the Slavonic invasions, the Byzantine middle ages, and the Anatolian Church.'

[1] *v. supra*, p. 10.

[2] Among those who returned was the great Prohaeresius.

[3] One must beware of over-exaggerating the importance of technical philosophy at the expense of Greek culture in the development of Christianity. As Harnack rightly says: 'It must no doubt be admitted that Christianity itself was already profoundly affected by the influence of Hellenism when it began to outline a philosophy: but this influence must be traced back less to philosophy than to the collective culture and to all the conditions under which the spiritual life was enacted' (Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, i. 359).

CHAPTER II

HERESY AND NATIONALISM IN AFRICA

In strong contrast to this healthier state is the history of the Church in Africa. The district known as Roman Africa had been thoroughly romanised in the plains of the East, though in the hinterland, which was continually being devastated by Moorish tribes, and among the coloni in the western hills[1] the Punic and the Berber elements had not been absorbed by Rome. The golden age in the history of Africa was, as in many other parts of the Empire, the period of the Antonines. Throughout the third century the country never really recovered from the terrible disturbances that followed the defeat of Gordian I by the legate of Numidia. Between 238 and the coming of Diocletian only two great public buildings were erected, and the number of statues set up was much smaller.[2] The reforms of the great Illyrian emperors did not have any very great effect,

[1] From the earliest days of the Empire the Imperial estates were of enormous extent. There was a special office at Carthage dealing with their management.

[2] *v.* Toutain, *Les Cités romaines de la Tunisie*, p. 159.

since they were counterbalanced by the rapacity of the officials and the inability of the government to defend the frontiers. The facts of the rise and fall of Donatism[1] in this increasingly morbid state of society may be briefly told.

The African Church was throughout its history noted for its devoted cult of the martyrs.[2] The corollary of this enthusiasm was a very strong feeling against the *lapsi*—those who had 'bowed their heads in the evil days' of persecution, and the *traditores*—those who, upon the command of the secular authority, had given up the sacred books and possessions of their churches. This feeling was, when it concerned the clergy, intensified by the idea, largely prevalent in the African Church, that the validity of a sacrament depended upon the character of the officiating priest. At a council of bishops held at Cirta[3] in 305 the president, Secundus of Tigisis, invited all the assembled bishops to clear themselves of the charge of surrendering their sacred books. The assembly was indignant, and a party threatened to leave the Church unless the question were withdrawn. Previous to this the Church of Carthage had been disturbed by the exclusion of a wealthy lady, Lucilla, for her refusal to abandon the use of

[1] So called from the successive leaders of the party—Donatus, Bishop of Casae Nigrae, and Donatus, surnamed the Great.

[2] For the uneasiness which the best ecclesiastical opinion felt concerning the growth of these cults, *v.* the resolutions of the councils (*Mansi*, 3. 382–3, 971. 14; 4. 494–50).

[3] *v. infra*, p. 35, for the political import of this council.

a spurious relic. After the death of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, and the election of a new bishop, Caecilianus, a party grew at Carthage consisting of Lucilla, certain elders who had seized for themselves some of the holy vessels, the disappointed candidates for the see, and the band of zealots who would in theory have no communion with the *lapsi* in general and the *traditores* in particular. They were joined by the Church of Numidia, which was indignant that it had not been asked to take part in the election of the new bishop.

Two appeals were made to the Emperor, the first against Caecilianus in person, the second against the validity of his consecration (the appellants claimed that the bishop who performed the office of consecration was himself a *traditor*). A third appeal resulted in the assembling of a great council of the Western Church at Arles, where every means was taken by the State to facilitate the attendance of the African bishops. The Council decided in favour of Caecilianus, and his opponents were themselves proscribed.

But Constantine could not close the schism even by force, and finally left the African Church to fight the question out alone, interfering only when the Donatists seized a church built for the Catholics.

An enormous quantity of polemical literature shows the intensity of the fight that was waged in the fourth century; the effect upon African Christianity was very great. Curiously, amongst the

amazing wealth of ruins at Timgad it is noticeable that the period of the best architecture corresponds exactly with that of the strife between the two Churches.

The fall of the Donatist party was hastened by its internal disunion; towards the end of the fourth century the less violent members of the sect began to seek about for a reconciliation. The victory of the Catholics was due in part to their moderation at the council of Carthage in 411, where the particular question of the validity of Caecilianus' ordination, and the general question of the all-inclusiveness of the Catholic Church were debated before an Imperial Commissioner. This moderation at the time of the Council must be taken into account as no small justification for the subsequent acquiescence of the Church in the persecution of the Donatists by the State; for after the Imperial Commissioner had decided in favour of the Catholics the Donatists were vigorously suppressed.

But the Vandal invasions and the persecution of non-Arians gave Catholics and Donatists little opportunity for internal polemics; this accounts for the poverty of documents relating to Donatism in the fifth century.[1] In the Byzantine period the question of the Three Chapters occupied attention until the death of Justinian; it was not until the time of Gregory the Great that Donatism re-appeared in any force. But inscriptions show the persistence

[1] Victor Vitensis, e.g., scarcely mentions Donatism.

of the heresy.[1] Justinian includes Donatists in the same category as Arians, Jews, and pagans.

The renewal of the activity of the party can be traced in the correspondence of S. Gregory. The first two notices that we possess deal with an inquiry into the action of certain Catholic bishops accused of dealings with Donatism.[2] Soon the circumstances had altered. The Donatists had attacked a Numidian bishop, and won the support of the exarch of Africa. The case dragged on, but was finally decided in favour of the Catholic bishop, after an appeal to the Emperor.

Next we go one step further. The government itself had become afraid of the Donatists, and taken action against them. Imperial edicts had been issued about 594 against Donatism, and Gregory the Great asked the praetorian prefect of Africa to apply them.[3] But the imperial officials seem to have been too much afraid to carry out their orders, and in 596 Gregory wrote to the Emperor himself.[4] This is the last official document we possess; but we might conjecture that the sect lingered in Numidia, and the borders of the desert, until the fall of Africa before Islam.

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The problem of the *lapsi*, the cases of Caecilian

[1] *C.I.L.* viii. 21570–4; cf. S. Leo, *Epp.* i. 12. 6, and 167. 18.

[2] S. Greg. Magn. *Epp.* i. 82; ii. 46.

[3] S. Greg. Magn. *Ep.* iv. 32. For Gregory's tact, and his desire to get a uniform method of treating the heretics throughout Africa, v. Monceaux, *Hist. Lit. de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, iv. 433–4 Gregory found the treatment too severe in Proconsularis and too lenient in Numidia.

[4] S. Greg. Magn. *Ep.* vi. 61.

and Felix of Aptunga, the personal quarrels and intrigues of unprincipled or foolish people, the simple inertia whereby schisms live on, amid the debris of past enthusiasm, when the circumstances that gave them a meaning have all passed away,[1] are not sufficient to explain the duration and the intensity of Donatism. The literature of the fourth century shows that practically all African thought was occupied with the strife, and with little else. There were no Christological questions involved. There was no missionary activity outside Africa in spite of the Donatists' claim to be the true Church; they had, it is true, churches in Gaul, Spain, and Rome,[2] but these were purely for African Donatists who had settled outside their country.

Monceaux[3] suggests as among the causes for the longevity of Donatism on the one hand the abnormal organisation of Ecclesiastical Africa, resulting in a perpetual jealousy between the Church of Numidia and that of Carthage, and, on the other hand, the social unrest in the province, resulting in persistent outbreaks of Jacquerie; the insurgents naturally, and with the encouragement, more or less official, of the Donatist leaders, attached themselves to the Donatist party.

[1] As Monceaux points out (*Timgad Chrétien*, p. 59), logically, after the condemnation in 320 of Silvanus, one of the consecrators of Majorinus, the Donatist Church had, on its own criterion, no real existence.

[2] Optatus (ii. 4) gives as the reason for the presence of a Donatist bishop in Rome 'quia quibusdam Afris urbica placuerat commemoratio.'

[3] *Hist. Lit. de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, iv. 163 *et seq.*, and also p. 8 *et seq.*

These causes are worth investigating. To give weight to them we must add that it is possible to identify, in the general, the official headquarters of Donatism with those parts of the country where non-Roman blood and civilisation predominated.[1] Until quite late in the history of African Christianity there were no distinct ecclesiastical provinces; the religious organisation was independent of the political;[2] for although the communities of Numidia and Mauretania, Byzacene, and Tripolitana were constituted into new ecclesiastical provinces (Numidia having led the way in 309) they had no real metropolitans; the primacy devolved upon the senior bishop; the bishops and the primates all went to the councils of Carthage, and Carthage thus exercised a kind of patriarchal authority which had grown up from historical causes, but which, after the division into provinces, had no real justification or title.[3]

The dislike felt against this authority by the Church of Numidia can be seen in the origins of

[1] *v.* W. Thümmel, *Zur Beurtheilung des Donatismus* (Halle, 1893). The book is somewhat unsatisfactory owing to the difficulty of seeing the wood from the trees, and to the author's habit of putting questions which it is impossible to answer, and then, after discussing them, concluding with a 'wir wissen nichts davon' that might well have come earlier.

[2] This is not entirely true of the ecclesiastical subdivisions: e.g., certain cities had, politically, a double organisation: (α) for the city itself, (β) for the surrounding territory. Cities of this kind often had two bishops whose spheres of jurisdiction were similarly divided.

[3] Cf. S. Aug. *Brev. Collat.* iii. 13. 25: Qui tunc habebat primatum Numidiae; and *Contra Cresc.* iii. 27, 30: Episcopus Tigisitanus primae cathedrae.

Donatism: the Numidians objected in the first instance to the establishment of Caecilianus before they had been consulted; it was in Numidia, as we have already noticed, that Donatism reappeared in the pontificate of S. Gregory, and it was from Numidia that the majority of the Donatist writers and pamphleteers were drawn.[1]

In their desire for independence the Donatists did not scruple to use language and to employ theories which were anti-imperial.[2] 'The opposition to Mensurius and Caecilianus was begun by the provincial council of Cirta under the leadership of Secundus, bishop of Tigisis; and the summons of the leaders of the Church of Carthage before this assembly was practically, if not deliberately, an attempt to expose the ecclesiastics of the ruling race to the censure of the provincials.' The Donatists supported the rebellions of the Moorish Firmus and Gildo. The support given to Gildo can be clearly and dramatically seen in that it centred round the person of Optatus, bishop of Timgad. Optatus made an alliance with Count Gildo, and actively supported his revolt against the authorities. He was openly regarded as Gildo's main ally, and received the title of Gildonianus or Gildonis satelles; a witty Donatist colleague said of him the ambiguous phrase 'Deus illi comes'; the alliance lasted from

[1] *v.* S. Aug. *Ep.* 129. 6.

[2] The fact that the Donatists appealed to the Emperor is no evidence for their loyalty. Any weapon was good enough to beat the Catholics with.

388 to 398, and during these ten years Optatus became in Augustine's phrase a 'tribunus,' persecuting the Catholics and also those Donatists with whom he disagreed.

Their anti-imperialism was practical rather than theoretical, but they had certainly evolved a theory that went beyond mere ecclesiastical independence in the management of ecclesiastical affairs. The State had no right of interference with the Church. Donatus had said—after the Donatist appeal to the Emperor had failed—quid est imperatori cum Ecclesia?[1] His followers regarded themselves as in all things followers of their fathers and of S. Cyprian.[2] They went further and claimed to be the only true Church. Their cry, says S. Augustine,[3] is, 'magna est sola ecclesiae Numidia'; they went further still and justified their claim from the Scriptures, quoting Canticles i. 6 to prove that in Africa alone was the Catholic Church.[4]

In order to propagate their theories, and to secure support against the Catholics, the Donatists

[1] The answer, in Optatus, of the Catholics to this question is very striking, and throws the Donatist attitude into greater relief. Optatus (*de Schism.* iii. 3) first mentions 1 Tim. ii. 2, and then says 'non enim est respublica in ecclesia, sed ecclesia in republica est, id est, in Imperio Romano; quod Libanum appellat Christus in Canticis Canticorum cum dicit Veni sponsa mea, inventa de Libano (iv. 8), id est de Imperio Romano, ubi et sacerdotia sancta sunt et pudicitia et virginitas.'

[2] S. Aug. *Contra Cresc.* ii. 31. 39 and iii. 2.

[3] S. Aug. *Enarr.* ii. in Ps. xxi. 26.

[4] S. Augustine (*Ep. ad Cath.* 19. 51) rebuts their arguments by the words 'praedicabitur hoc evangelium in universo orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc veniet finis.'

enlisted in their cause the movements arising from the social discontent of the province. The bands of wandering peasants who did so much harm in Gaul during the fourth century, and whom Salvian mentions as existing in Spain in the fifth century, had their counterpart in Africa in the Circumcelliones.

These Circumcelliones contained two main classes of people. First those 'enthusiastic' Christians who would naturally adopt Donatism after Christianity seemed—by accepting the recognition of the State—to have acquiesced in the existing order of society. In the words of M. Martroye,[1] 'a party in the Christian community saw in Christianity the promise of a new social order and considered as a treason the fact that it—Christianity—had accommodated itself to the social order represented by the Emperor. The orthodox priests would appear as *traditores*, not only because certain of them had surrendered sacred objects, but because they all seemed to have betrayed religion itself, such as these Christians understood it.' These were the circumstances that moved not only the fanatics, but the lower classes generally. 'The lower classes threw themselves into the schism, which had not a single doctrine as its motive, because the Catholic Church seemed to them to betray their cause in accommodating itself to the established order of things, and in not giving satisfaction to their hopes.'

[1] Martroye, 'Une Tentative de révolution sociale en Afrique,' *Revue des questions historiques*, lxxvi. 399.

Inextricably intermingled with the fanatics and the genuinely discontented, there was, as in all revolutions, a whole body of undesirables, runaway slaves, insolvent debtors, and the like. Among both elements there were numbers who, though not educated enough to have any separatist political theories, were comparative strangers to Roman ideas and civilisation: it was necessary to speak to them 'per Punicum interpretem.'[1]

The Donatists, while they might appeal against the violence of the Circumcelliones in particular cases—as when in 340 certain schismatical bishops asked the help of Count Taurinus and the imperial forces—found in these disturbers of the Roman peace allies too valuable to be disowned. They actually encouraged them. Optatus[2] tells how: 'Donatus praecones per vicina loca et per omnes nundinas misit, circumcelliones agonisticos nuncupans; ad praedictum locum ut concurrerent invitavit.'

The result was 'nulli licuit securum esse in possessionibus suis; debitorum chirographa amiserunt vires; nullus creditor illo tempore exigendi habuit libertatem. Terrebantur omnes litteris eorum qui se sanctorum duces fuisse jactabant . . . etiam itinera non poterant esse tutissima, quod domini de vehiculis suis excussi ante municipia sua, dominorum locis sedentia, serviliter cucurrerunt. Illorum

[1] *v.* S. Aug. *Ep.* 108; ii. 14.
[2] Optatus, *De Schism. Donat.* iii. 4.

judicio et imperio inter dominos et servos conditio mutabatur.' S. Augustine gives a similar picture. 'Tabulae frangebantur; extorta debitoribus chirographa reddebantur[1] . . . (ut) contra possessores suos rusticana erigatur audacia et fugitivi servi contra apostolicam disciplinam.'[2] The Circumcelliones were particularly violent in the country districts (maxime in agris territans)[3] and against Catholic priests (nocturnis adgressionibus clericorum invasas domos nudas atque inanes relinquunt, ipsos etiam raptos et fustibus tunsos ferroque concisos semivivos abjiciunt);[4] their bands included numbers of Donatist clergy (cum cotidie vestrorum incredibilia patimur facta clericorum et circumcellionum).[5]

Beyond creating local havoc and rendering a reconciliation of Donatist and Catholic exceedingly difficult, this persistent 'Bagaudage' had no permanent results: the Vandal invasions made all classes forget their particular social and political grievances in the general distress. But the disturbances are of great interest to the historian in that they present the spectacle of political discontent expressing itself through religious channels, and diverting against the Catholic Church passions that would otherwise have vented themselves directly against the imperial government and its officials. The policy of Constantine here justified

[1] S. Aug. *Ep.* 108, iv. 15.
[2] *Ibid.* vi. 18.
[3] S. Aug. *Contra Gaudentium*, i. 28, 32.
[4] S. Aug. *Contra Cresconium*, iii. 42, 46.
[5] *Ibid.*

itself: the Church was a kind of buffer state against the discontent of the masses, just as Persia was a buffer state between Rome and the barbarians of the East. When the imperial government tried to suppress all independence in the Church, it only brought attacks against itself—such as the direct anti-Melchite schism in Egypt,[1] just as, in destroying the power of Persia, it had to meet directly the inroads of the barbarians from the East.

[1] *v.* pp. 45 *et seq.*

CHAPTER III

HERESY AND NATIONALISM IN EGYPT AND SYRIA

EAST of the province of Africa lay the patriarchate of Alexandria. The western borders of the Alexandrian patriarchate—the Pentapolis—can be passed over; its geographical isolation, the trade rivalry of Alexandria, and the unrest of the desert hinterland had been the downfall of Cyrene. Synesius describes the people as stay-at-home and inert, and as looking to the bureaucracy for protection against the Church.

The dominant factor in the see of Alexandria was Egypt, and the dominant factor in Egypt was Alexandria. The Empire had in Egypt taken over intact the civil service and whole governmental system of the Ptolemies.[1] Egypt influenced Rome more than Rome influenced Egypt: the deep appeal of an ancient ritual, of magnificent processions and liturgic dramas, had popularised through the Empire the worship of Isis and Serapis: the doctrine of immortality helped to transform pagan theology

[1] v. Milne, *Egypt under the Romans*, for an account of this organisation.

the idea of the consoling Mother-goddess and her young child illustrates the line of development taken by popular Christian religion. Alexandria herself, with enormous quays, a lighthouse and a library that were the wonder of the world, with her school of philosophy and mathematics, her incurably turbulent and cosmopolitan inhabitants,[1] claimed to stand above Antioch and on an equality with Rome.[2] Her mathematical fame gave her the privilege of settling the time for Easter: her philosophy found a new outlet in the school of theology which possessed such famous names as Origen and Clement, though its often far-fetched allegorical interpretations and its bold speculations were from the first tinged with heresy.

The patriarch of Alexandria ruled over a diocese compact and strong in national feeling, and, on the whole, obedient; he was often called Pope.[3] S. Leo speaks of him as a second Pharaoh. Justinian conferred the office of prefect and patriarch upon the same person. Beneath the patriarch's charge, a valuable if impetuous support, were the monks of the desert, while his authority extended to Aethiopia and Nubia.

The patriarchs of Alexandria deposed three

[1] Cf. Dio Cassius, iv. 24, *θρασύνασθαι μὲν προσπετέσταται, ἀνδρίσασθαι δὲ ἀσθενέσταται*—though the latter is rather unfair on the Alexandrians, whose deeds were certainly as violent as their words

[2] S. Mark was claimed as the first bishop of the see, and later tradition made him the representative of S. Peter.

[3] Epiphanius, e.g., speaks of Athanasius as the 'blessed Pope.'

patriarchs of Constantinople—Chrysostom, Nestorius, and Flavian. They seized every opportunity—such as the ambition of the bishops of Jerusalem to transform their see into an autonomous patriarchate—to depress the see of Antioch. Alexandria was very jealous of the upstart power of Constantinople. Doctrinally, Theophilus (patriarch of Alexandria from 385-412), who supported Epiphanius with vigour in his anti-Origenist campaign, seems to have been himself an Origenist, and to have used the anti-Origenist zeal largely as a means of humiliating Constantinople and S. John Chrysostom. On the other hand, the condemnation of Eutyches in 448 was not only a victory of the true faith over error, but, incidentally, a vindication—and not a very successful vindication—of the authority of Constantinople against the domineering attitude of Alexandria.

But it is only after Alexandria had definitely taken up the wrong side in the Monophysite controversy [1] that the feud became of general political importance.

It must, however, in justice to the bishops of Alexandria in the century from 350–450, be pointed out that we cannot understand the history of that century unless we read into it those factors the working of which can clearly be discerned after Chalcedon. The ambitions of particular people,

[1] It can, without begging the question, be called the wrong side after the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

when isolated from their environment, and the environment itself when studied against the white background of the categorical imperative, look very drab; but those who apply harsh epithets to the aims, as well as to certain particular actions, of S. Cyril or of Dioscuros, often use a very different standard of criticism when judging the separatist movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Further a chronicler of mass movements is bound to point out the deleterious influence of a crowd upon its leaders. Croiset,[1] after speaking of the striking vitality of Christian literature in the fourth century, speaks of the mischievous effect exercised upon it by the very intensity and popularity of the subjects discussed. 'Les esprits actifs, les caractères ambitieux et énergiques se jettent dans cette mêlée et s'y perdent. Au milieu de ces clameurs et de ces disputes subtiles, le sens du beau s'oblitère, le goût désintéressé du vrai disparaît.'

Monophysitism was adopted by Alexandria and Egypt as a national creed; it was held to be the teaching of the national hero S. Cyril, whose honour had, so Alexandria thought, been insulted at Chalcedon in 451. The Emperor Marcian made the faith of Chalcedon the law of the Empire. This only strengthened the allegiance of Egypt to S. Cyril, and the deposition of Dioscuros aroused a fierce opposition to Constantinople. The orthodox party were regarded as anti-national, and their nominee to

[1] (Maurice) Croiset, *History of Greek Literature*, Period V.

the vacant patriarchate, Proterius, found nearly the whole people—especially the lower classes and the monks—against him; two thousand soldiers from Constantinople could scarcely suppress the riots in Alexandria.

On Dioscuros' death in 454 his party elected a successor—Timothy Αἴλυρος.[1] Three years later, in the prolonged absence of the commander of the troops, Proterius was murdered, the 'Chalcedonians' expelled, and a national Monophysite Church was organised. Three years later again the loyalist party, aided by the government, expelled Timothy Αἴλυρος and put in his place Timothy Σακοφακίολος, ὃν οἱ μὲν (the Monophysites) ἐκάλουν βασιλικὸν, says Evagrius,[2] pointing out the nationalism of the party. The anti-imperialist party branded their opponents as Melchites (Melek = King); they themselves used the native tongue in their liturgies—just as the Arian Cyrila at the Council of Carthage made a point of not understanding Latin—while the Melchites used Greek.

The government alternated between persecution and compromise;[3] but persecution only embittered

[1] The circumstances of Timothy's appointment and his accession to power are significant—*v.* Evag. ii. 8. The people of Alexandria, the dignitaries, senators, and shipmasters chose him for their bishop. Evagrius adds that Timothy waited for the death of Marcian, and then, 'assuming a bold tone of independence, assailed the divine canons and ecclesiastical order, the commonwealth and the laws.'

[2] Evagrius, ii. 9.

[3] The unwillingness to provoke disturbance in Egypt can be clearly seen under Justin, when an attempt was made to persuade delegates

the nationalists, and compromise seemed mere weakness. The Monophysites would feel, like the Catholics when they received toleration from Gunthamund of Burgundy, 'poterit forsitan haereticus quicumque regnare.' Therefore the Henotikon of Zeno was of no more avail than the toleration of Anastasius. But the Monophysite sympathies of Anastasius had two results: they caused a schism with the West, and they encouraged the spread of Monophysitism by Alexandrian missionaries in the districts outside the patriarchate. Justin was naturally anti-Monophysite, as opposed to Anastasius. Justinian, desiring the friendship of the Western Church, was bound to conciliate orthodoxy by taking measures against heretics. It was in his reign that the political and religious conflict became crucial, but before studying it, it is necessary to consider Antioch and Syria.

Seeck [1] points out in an interesting way that the stream of progress, which slowly froze throughout the Empire, kept its warmth longest in the regions where the Semitic element predominated. If Syria is considered, the theory does not even express the whole truth, for the prosperity and culture of the period increased as time went on. The sixth century marks

from Alexandria to Constantinople to renounce Monophysitism. The authorities were afraid to proceed to open violence as the capital depended upon Alexandria for its supply of wheat (John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 36). The same fear may have influenced Theodosius II when he allowed the robber Council of Ephesus to depose Flavian and reverse the decision of 448.

[1] Seeck, *Geschichte des Unterganges der antiken Welt*, in the chapter on 'Die Ausrottung der Besten.'

the apogee, in M. Diehl's phrase, of the Syrian provinces and also of Armenia.[1]

We have already noticed the prominence of Armenians in the imperial forces, and seen how their feudal gentry formed a useful counterpoise to the Goths. Syria proper gave birth to capable soldiers: the great Solomon came from Daras.[2] In the sphere of literature and the arts Syria produced historians like Procopius, John of Ephesus, Evagrius, and Malalas; the law school of Berytus had a cosmopolitan reputation, and it seems to have learnt how to produce in the minds of men like Procopius much of the old Roman spirit. Northern Syria is full of Christian Churches of a really original type of architecture; Antioch, the capital, was a city of 300,000 inhabitants.

The religious situation in Syria bore some relation to that in Egypt. Both countries had strong Christian traditions—Antioch even more than Alexandria; the peoples of both countries were nationalist, and therefore anti-imperial in character; both patriarchs had churches outside the empire under their superintendence; Antioch had a school of theology, prone, like the Alexandrian school, to heresy; there was a small pagan opposition in Syria as in Egypt.[3]

[1] From a political point of view Chapot (*La frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 388) rightly calls Armenia another Poland.

[2] Procopius, *B. V.* i. 11.

[3] John of Ephesus (*H.E.* 3. 27) gives an extraordinary tale of a pagan plot with enormous ramifications, set on foot in 579 by the worshippers of Satan at Heliopolis.

Both sees included a large number of monks, many of whom, in their 'singular habitude,' like S. Simon Stylites abandoning 'the beaten path which the Saints had trodden,'[1] must have been a difficulty to the bishop.

But the Alexandrian diocese was more compact than the Antiochene; the latter included many different races and languages, and it lost Cyprus and Jerusalem. After the Council of Ephesus nearly all the eastern part of the patriarchate remained Nestorian; persecution only drove the church and school of Edessa to Nisibis, where the King of Persia gladly welcomed a Christianity that was not imperial. Monophysitism also, as anti-imperial, gained a great hold, many in Western Syria refusing allegiance to the decree of Chalcedon. The Armenian Church, which was under a καθολικὸς of its own, and which remained united after the partition of Armenia in 440, held to Monophysitism. They had first adopted it out of opposition to Persian Christianity and out of friendship for the Empire. They used it finally as a barrier to defend their nationality; for this purpose they kept also certain peculiarities of ritual.[2]

Anastasius had adopted the policy of non-interference, in the hope that the toleration he had allowed and the knowledge that he was himself a Mono-

[1] Evag. *H.E.* i. 13 and 14.

[2] Such as using no water in the chalice, and employing unleavened bread. They also united the festivals of Easter and the Epiphany.

physite [1] would gradually bring about a quiet settlement. But toleration had the opposite effect. Individual bishops could do as they chose; the result was that the Eastern Churches were divided into factions,[2] and finally had no friendly intercourse with Africa and the West. Anastasius was therefore compelled to abandon his policy of non-intervention, and to remove the extremists on either side.[3] This again led to continuous intrigues in Syria in which the monks were very vehement. On one occasion they rushed in a body into Antioch, and a wild street conflict ensued.[4]

In the East, as in Egypt, the rise to power and subsequent accession of Justinian marked a reaction; the revolt of Vitalian in 514 had shown that such a reaction would find support.

[1] Cf: *Liber Pontificalis*, liv. 'In quo libello (sent by Hormisdas) noluit sentire Anastasius Augustus, quia et ipse in hereso Eutychiana communis erat.' Cf. *ibid.* for Anastasius' attitude towards Rome. He wrote to the pope, saying, 'Nos jubere volumus, non nobis juberi.'

[2] Evag. iii. 30. [3] *Ibid.* iii. 30. [4] *Ibid.* iii. 33.

CHAPTER IV

ATTEMPT AT CENTRAL CONTROL: JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA

JUSTINIAN attempted to succeed where Anastasius had failed, and to work out a conception which the careful mind of Anastasius[1] had always rejected as impracticable. His attempt is so very important that it must be studied at some length. As the law books of Justinian both summed up the past and laid down a great foundation for builders in the future, so the religious events of his reign sum up previous tendencies in a great crux; and most of the old lines still discernible on the palimpsest which the map of the Christian East has become since the invasions of Islam are due—for good and ill—to the handiwork of Justinian.

For Justinian, whom John Lydus[2] rightly called *τὸν πάντων βασιλέων ἀγρυπνότατον*, had a vast plan of a united church of East and West in a united Empire. The carrying out of this plan meant,

[1] Procopius, *B.P.* i. 10, sums up the character of Anastasius when he says *δρᾷν γὰρ ἀνεπισκέπτως οὐδὲν οὔτε ἠπίστατο οὔτε εἴωθε.*

[2] J. Lydus, iii. 55.

on its political side, the reconquest of Italy, Africa, Gaul, and Spain; on its religious side, the establishment of a universal orthodoxy; this religious unity was to a Christian Emperor an indispensable condition, "... *οὗπερ ἱερατικοῦ] ἐν εἰρήνῃ φυλαττομένου καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμῖν εὐθυνήσει πολίτευμα.*"[1] Hence the Codex of Justinian begins with the title 'De Summa Trinitate et de fide catholica et ut nemo de ea publice contendere audeat.' Hence in his panegyric on the buildings of Justinian Procopius[2] says that Justinian closed all the roads that led to error. The ultimate authority, the touchstone of orthodoxy, was the Emperor himself. He had inherited a Caesaro-papism, and was unwilling to relax his control of doctrine or of church government; he agreed with the saying of Constantius[1] '*ὅπερ ἐγὼ βούλομαι, τοῦτο κανών.*'

The deep-rooted character of the heresies in the East, the apparently firm hold of the Goths in the West, the turbulent independence of Syria and Egypt, the hostility of Italy to Byzantine Caesaro-papism, the ambitions of Persia, the chaotic state of the finances, the need for a reform of the existing civil service, might have given the Emperor to pause before undertaking this gigantic scheme of subduing utterly to himself the minds and bodies of almost the whole civilised world. Are the charges of Procopius right, and was Justinian a narrow-minded official, unable from his exalted station to see the problems of his empire, deluded by

[1] *Nov.* 42. [2] Procopius, *De Aed.* i. proem.

a subservient court into believing that the world would obey his word? Was he in all his life the theological fanatic whom Procopius describes as neglecting practical affairs to sit through long nights of controversy with old priests?[1] Or did that fierce ascetic nature fret itself away until only imagination was left—the gigantic imagination of an age which built the Church of the Divine Wisdom and looked into the very eyes of the angels of famine and earthquake, fire and pestilence?

Justinian was imaginative, fanatical, bureaucratic, accustomed to obedience; but he was a Byzantine, and to a Byzantine cunning also was among the virtues.[2] Hence one would expect to find Justinian trying to secure his ends by secret as well as open methods, by plans often contradictory. The Emperor's real policy, therefore, may have been less chimerical, if less magnificent, than it appeared. For while nominally dictating a rigid orthodoxy to

[1] Cf. Procopius, *Goth. Wars*, iii. 16, and *Hist. Arc.* 18. Cf. the encouragement given to the Western policy by a Christian bishop (Proc. *B.V.* i. 12).

[2] *v.* Procopius, *Goth. Wars*, i. 2, where Procopius praises Amalasuntha's treacherous murder of her opponents; in Proc. *B.V.* i. 3, Aetius and Boniface are highly praised, and called the last of the Romans; yet Aetius practises double dealing upon Boniface, and Boniface does not scruple—in Procopius—to turn traitor to the Empire, by calling in the Vandals. Cf. also the curious characterisation of Honorius in Proc. *B.V.* i. 2, as one of the *οὔτε ἀγχίνοις οὔτε τι οἰκοθεν μηχανᾶσθαι εὖσιν*, whom, *ἢν μὴ πονηροὶ εἶεν*, God loves to help. Cf. also the impatient anger of S. Gregory the Great at the underhand methods of the exarchate of Ravenna. Cf. also the idea of writing a secret history. Ananias of Shirak, e.g., had a library of secret books as well as open (*v. Byz. Zeit.* 1897)

the East, he may have secretly assented to a compromise, just as, while issuing high-sounding manifestoes and regulations for purifying the government, he acquiesced in the exactions of his officials, and then atoned for his connivance by ultimately confiscating for imperial purposes their ill-gotten gains.

The ideal means for a double religious policy, demanding orthodoxy and permitting heresy, Justinian found ready to hand in his Empress Theodora.

Justinian refers to Theodora in his edict of 535 as sent to him by God; magistrates and bishops and generals swore fidelity to her as well as to the Emperor. Fifteen years after her death Paul the Silentiarius celebrated her as the active collaborator with Justinian in the work of government. To this day the mosaics of Ravenna show how important a part Theodora played in the visible life of the court. In spite of general expectation, Justinian remained faithful to her policy after her death. Theodora was a Monophysite; she had evidently travelled over Egypt and Syria, and knew what one can only call the 'politico-religious' conditions of the country. She saw that the strength of the Empire lay in the East.[1] She was religious by nature; she humbled

[1] The general witness of other historians points to the *Historia Arcana* being wrong and untrustworthy where it speaks of Theodora's past. Even the *Hist. Arc.* (§ 10) says that 'no senator thought of objecting to the marriage; no priest was grievously affected.' Liberatus (*Brev.*, in Migne, lxviii. 1040 *et seq.*) can only say of Theodora that she was an impious enemy of the Church. Victor Tonnennensis expatiates on the

herself before the ascetic Maras, believed in the efficacy of relics, provided a refuge for monks, rebuilt churches, endowed pious houses. There is no evidence that she disapproved of the Emperor's Western policy: she was extraordinarily ambitious—one to whom any scheme of aggrandisement would appeal in itself; she interfered actively at Rome in attempting to secure for the Monophysites the support of the papacy.

Justinian's Eastern policy, on the other hand, has one great inconsistency. How is it that a monarch who was trying to enforce unity and orthodoxy in the Church should permit so much diplomatic and religious work to be carried on beyond the frontiers of the empire

heresy of the Empress, but not on her past wickedness. John Lydus, who, as a disappointed man, was as hostile as Liberatus and Victor, says nothing. Neither does Agathias, who wrote after Justinian and so had nothing to fear. Malalas and Theophanes record little of Theodora, except actions of goodness and piety; and yet Theophanes gives the conversation of Justinian with the circus party of the 'Greens,' to whom Theodora was particularly odious. Evagrius is very hostile to Justinian's government and to the morals of Byzantine society, but he finds nothing to say against Theodora or Justinian. Zonaras, who also attacks the immorality of bad emperors, only accuses Theodora of avarice, and of over-influencing her husband.

One cannot here enter into a discussion as to the date and genuineness of the *Historia Arcana*. In spite of von Ranke, the researches of Dahn, and more recently of Haury, seem to leave no doubt on the subject. As to its date, the general views of Haury, in his two brochures on Procopius, as to Procopian chronology seem less convincing than those of Dahn (*Procopius of Caesarea*). Dahn maintains that the *H.A.* was written between 588 and 589. With regard to the trustworthiness of the *H.A.*, surely one may be allowed to regard a great deal of it, such as the continually repeated story of the prison from whose depths people so unaccountably managed to escape, as a kind of Byzantine 'Zuleika Dobson.'

by Monophysite missionaries?[1] How was it that in the West Justinian, the autocrat of autocrats, acquiesced in Theodora's treatment of the papacy, and in the East allowed her to outwit him in an almost ludicrous way by sending Monophysites to forestall the imperial embassy of conversion to the Nobatae?

Surely the conjecture of Evagrius[2] is right, that Justinian and Theodora adopted different sides in the Monophysite controversy out of arrangement. Procopius actually regards a secret co-operation combined with apparent opposition as the very keynote of the imperial policy, and he quotes the different sides adopted by the Emperor and Theodora in the religious disputes as the chief example.[3] His statement is all the more valuable because he gives the wrong reason for it—he attributes it to the

[1] E.g. John of Ephesus was employed even within the Empire to convert 70,000 heathen in Asia Minor: the converts being baptised at State expense—*v.* Diehl, *Justinien*, especially the chapter on the foreign policy of Justinian for the missions of conversion sent to the Sabinian Huns, the Arabians of Syria, the Homeritae, Axumites, Blemmyes and Nobatae. The employment of the orthodox S. Basil by the Arian Valens to restore order in the Church of Armenia may be quoted as a precedent for this; but the circumstances were different. Basil had personally impressed the Emperor and was the outstanding figure of his time in the Church of Asia Minor.

[2] Evagrius, iv. 10.

[3] Procopius, *H.A.* 10. *ἐπεὶ οὐδέ τι ἀλλήλοιν χωρὶς ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ἐπραξάτην. χρόνον μὲν γὰρ πολὺν ἔδοξαν ἅπασι ταῖς γνώμαις ἀεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλοιν ἰέναι, ὕστερον μέντοι ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτοῦν ξυμπεπλᾶσθαι ἡ δόκησις αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τοῦ μὴ ξυμφρονήσαντας τοὺς κατηκόους σφίσιν ἐπαναστῆναι, ἀλλὰ διαστάναι τὰς γνώμας αὐτοὺς ἅπασι, πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τοὺς χριστιανοὺς διαναστήσαντες καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐν γε τοῖς ἀντιλεγομένοις σκηπτομένω ἀλλήλοιν ἰέναι διεσπάσαντο οὕτως ἅπαντας, ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς στασιώτας διείλοντο.*

desire of the Emperor and Empress to keep their subjects at variance.

Such a policy had a precedent in recent barbarian history; Gundobaud and Sigismund, an Arian father and a Catholic son, were associated in the rule of the Burgundians. It was in the highest degree expedient: given time and toleration, the Monophysites and Catholics might come to a settlement amongst themselves.[1] Justinian himself had not made up his mind entirely on the intellectual question: hence the long hours he devoted to the study of theology: he regarded a compromise as possible —otherwise he would not have assented to the condemnation of the Three Chapters.

A successor, reaping the fruits of the reconquest of the West and the establishment of the new *régime* of law and order, and of further investigation into the theological question, might be in the position to pronounce finally on the doctrinal points, and to enforce his decision. As yet there must be temporising, but this temporising must not appear above the surface; the Emperor must not seem to deviate from the path laid down in the Codex. The policy failed: such tortuous policies—fortunately—are apt to fail, and in this case compromise was impossible.

We can work out the double system. The

[1] The doctrinal difficulties of the whole Monophysite controversy were accentuated by the absence of any really great theologian. Duchesne (in *Églises Séparées*, p. 58) well says of the Council of Chalcedon 'on aperçoit alors beaucoup d'hommes de bien, de théologiens distingués; mais il n'y a pas d'Athanase.'

treatment of the Monophysites during Theodora's lifetime falls into three periods: from the accession of Justinian to the coming of Agapetus; then a repulse, followed by a short triumph until the council of 536; then a gradual regaining of the lost ground, and a rise to favour, marked by the condemnation of the three Chapters. After the death of Theodora in 548 Justinian continued to favour the Monophysites—negatively—by persecuting the supporters of the Three Chapters.

The accession to power of Theodora was followed by a return to the palace of the exiled Monophysite bishops and monks. The Emperor agreed to meet representatives of the sect, and though Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, and leader of the Monophysites in Syria, a man pious, cultured, and brave, at first refused to appear, a conference was actually held. Throughout Asia and Egypt the Monophysites took advantage of their toleration. One John of Tella is said to have converted 160,000 people. To Constantinople came prominent Monophysite clergy—including, at last, Severus himself, the learned Peter of Apamea, the monk Zooras. Zooras and his monks became the object of a fashionable cult, notably among women, and their preaching had a remarkable effect at the court. Theodora secured by force—and the Emperor acquiesced—the appointment of her candidates to the vacant sees of Constantinople and Alexandria.

Unfortunately, however, for the Monophysites,

Agapetus now arrived in Constantinople, and, in spite of the Emperor's threats of exile and the Empress's subtler attempts at conciliation, refused to have any dealings with the new Monophysite patriarch, and demanded the deposition of the new patriarch of Constantinople, Anthimus, and the expulsion of Zooras. The Emperor had to choose between an Eastern and a Western policy: he chose the latter, because he knew that, through Theodora, he could still temporise in the East. Anthimus was deposed, but Zooras remained in the city.[1]

The death of Agapetus in 537 gave the Monophysites a new opportunity, they acted in public once more; foolishly, however, they indulged in treasonous talk against the Emperor and insulted one of his statues—the heresy, in other words, showed its inherent nationalism. A council was held; Anthimus, Peter of Apamea, and Severus were solemnly anathematised; the Byzantine crowds veered round to orthodoxy.[2] Persecution—upon which John of Ephesus dilates—was established in Syria and Egypt: Justinian followed the advice of the papal legate Pelagius, and tried to conciliate Egyptian feeling by appointing a native monk named Paul as patriarch.

[1] Officially it was said that a number of portents forbade his expulsion. Actually, Justinian seems to have been afraid of the Byzantine populace, and did not wish to go too far.

[2] Were they offended with the nationalism of the Monophysites, or had they come to realise the necessity of winning the support of the Catholics in the West?

It is difficult to unravel the intricacies of the intrigue which resulted in the deposition of Silverius, and the establishment of Theodora's protégé, Vigilius, upon the papal throne; but the question cannot be avoided if we would consider the relationship in matters of ecclesiastical and civil (the words are here almost synonymous) policy of Justinian and Theodora.

The fullest accounts are in the life of Silverius in the Liber Pontificalis,[1] and in the Breviarium of Liberatus. Both these accounts seem to show not only that Vigilius was the tool of the Empress, but also that she was quite ready to abandon him, did she cease to need his assistance; one cannot otherwise account for the attempt of Belisarius and Antonina to persuade Silverius 'implere praeceptum Augustae ut tolleretur Chalcedonensis synodus et per epistolam suam haereticorum firmaretur fides.' It was only after Silverius' firm speech that definite action was taken to depose him on a trumped-up charge[2] of treasonous correspondence with the Goths.

Vigilius was then chosen pope, and at once signalised his independence by refusing to pay Belisarius the promised bribe. Liberatus gives as motives avarice and fear of the Romans. Vigilius may also have realised that his success was due to the good faith of Silverius rather than to the efforts of Belisarius. Liberatus then gives details as to the subsequent

[1] *v.* Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, LX. and Liberatus, *Brev.* 24.

[2] The charge was trumped up very cleverly. Marcellinus clearly believed it.

end of Silverius, which are not mentioned by the 'Liber Pontificalis,' but which throw very important light on the part that was played in the whole matter by Justinian. The bishop of Patara—whither Silverius had been exiled—complained to the Emperor, says the 'Breviarium,' of the way in which the pope was being treated.

Justinian then ordered that Silverius should be brought back to Rome, and that an enquiry should be held into the genuineness of the treasonous letters of Silverius to the Goths—which had been the official reason for his condemnation. Theodora sent Pelagius to try to prevent this: Pelagius failed. Silverius returned, but Vigilius, fearing for his position, asked Belisarius 'Trade mihi Silverium; alioqui non possum facere quod a me exigis.' Whereupon Silverius, being handed over, was taken to the isle of Palmaria, where he died of starvation.

Now Justinian must have known the falseness of these letters: Belisarius could hardly have disobeyed the Emperor and surrendered Silverius without holding the enquiry, if the Emperor had already been firm enough to frustrate the attempt of Pelagius.

But, as a matter of fact, from the way in which Justinian himself employed Pelagius,[1] and from the

[1] The character of Pelagius is as difficult to comprehend as most of the principal actors in this period. His constancy during the condemnation of the Three Chapters is in strange contrast to his action against Silverius, whatever interpretation we put upon the latter. Pelagius, like so many 'political ecclesiastics,' had greater intellectual than moral honesty.

usual Janus-like character of the imperial policy, it is difficult to avoid the belief that Pelagius was sent with a free hand[1] to Patara; the Emperor, as well as the Empress, may have wished Silverius to remain in exile; the Emperor, as usual, had to avoid offending Western opinions: the Empress was known to be Eastern and Monophysite in sympathy: hence Pelagius went, nominally, as her representative alone. Pelagius may have felt that, by bringing Silverius to Rome, he would force Vigilius' hand.[2]

With Duchesne, who believes Vigilius and Antonina to share the greatest blame, and does not discuss the possibility of the Emperor's acquiescence, we must admit that it is impossible to measure the culpability of individuals in an affair so obscure. But it is hard to avoid seeing, behind the ambition of Vigilius, and the intrigues of the Empress and of Antonina, her confidant, the desire of Justinian to find a pope who would not humiliate him, as he had been humiliated by Agapetus, and who would not hinder, by dubious theological objections, the great and sincerely purposed work of imperial reconstruction.[3] Vigilius, during his stay at Constantinople,

[1] Justinian and Theodora, like Queen Elizabeth, often found it necessary to give their servants a free hand, so that their action could, if necessary, be disavowed.

[2] *Lib. Pont.*, ed. Duchesne, notes, p. 295.

[3] This avoids the difficulty which Duchesne finds to explain Justinian's acquiescence in the first appointment of Vigilius by Theodora —*v.* Duchesne, 'Vigile et Pelage,' in the *Revue des questions historiques*, vol. 36 (1884).

was accused unofficially of the murder of Silverius; it is remarkable that Justinian never brought this accusation against him, though to show that he had caused the murder of his predecessor would have been an easy method of securing his deposition.

But there is no direct evidence, and one does not lightly accuse the dead—even a dead Emperor of Byzantium—of murder. Justinian's servants may have gone beyond their master's intentions; but Justinian must have held himself well rid of a turbulent pope.

The affair of the Three Chapters shows Justinian's willingness to accept a compromise in the hope that it would mean unity.

One Theodore Askidas, bishop of Caesarea, had discovered among the acta of Chalcedon three chapters tainted with Nestorianism[1]: he advised the Emperor to appease the Monophysites and at the same time preserve the allegiance of the Catholics by issuing a revised and purified edition of the disputed canons.

Justinian seized the opportunity, imagining that the West would follow him out of gratitude for its deliverance from barbarian government and Arian oppression. Never did he make a greater miscalculation. The greed of the imperial officials was making

[1] They were an assent to (i.) Letters laudatory of Theodore of Mopsuestia (quod suscep. laudes, *Lib. Bon.*, 24). (ii.) A tractate of Theodoret of Cyrrhus against the Monophysitism towards which tended the doctrines of Cyril of Alexandria. (iii.) A letter of Ibas to Maris.

the West look back with regret on the government of the barbarians from whom it had been delivered: the orthodoxy which resisted Gothic Arianism was indignant at the setting aside of the work of S. Leo.[1] In the East the compromise only encouraged the Monophysites to hope for more concessions.

Theodora, in the meantime, saw to the needs of the exiled bishops. She encouraged men like John, bishop of Memphis, to embark on propagandic work: Justinian's support of Monophysite missions[2] gave the party hope. These missionaries worked within, as well as without, the Empire. John of Ephesus, sent to convert the heathen of Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria, naturally set up again the Monophysite Church. Jacob 'Baradaeus,' a man educated in Greek and Syriac literature, was sent to Arabia at the request of Harith, the imperial ally on the desert frontier. The visible results of Jacob's work were two Monophysite patriarchs, 27 bishops, 100,000 priests and deacons; he entirely rehabilitated the Monophysite Church, and his fame spread 'like a delicate perfume' all over the Empire.

The character of the new Monophysite Church—

[1] For the resistance of Africa in particular *v. infra*, pp. 91–3.

[2] Is it possible that the success of these missions was one of the causes which led to Justinian's neglect of the army in the later years of his reign? If he put too much trust in the assimilative powers of Christian and Roman civilisation, he only shared the mistake of many of his contemporaries. Menander may have had these missions in his mind when he said that had Justinian lived, he would have destroyed all the barbarians.

the 'Jacobite' Church—is brought out in the works of John of Ephesus. Two incidents may suffice to show its nationalism. John speaks of certain nuns in the reign of Tiberius, who had taken refuge in Constantinople during the persecutions at Antioch, as refusing to relinquish the addition 'ὁς σταυρωθείς' to the Trishagion: they said 'we are but women, and know nothing about controversy, but from the tradition of the Oriental fathers we will not depart as long as we live.'[1]

A more conscious nationalism was shown by the people of Syria during the controversies described in John of Ephesus' fourth book,[2] between Alexandria and Antioch. Three ambassadors who had been sent from the capital to negotiate with Persia, tried to bring about a reconciliation, but the people in the East would not listen to them, and they returned home much offended, 'reviling all the Orientals.' The feuds of the Monophysites among themselves showed the old hostility between Antioch and Alexandria; the whole of the Church in both patriarchates took part. Jacob 'Baradaeus' tried in vain to mediate between the two parties.[3]

[1] John of Ephesus, *H.E.* iii. 19. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 35.

[3] John of Ephesus' description of the death of Jacob Baradaeus on his way to Alexandria is worthy of mention, not only for its beauty and charity, but as showing the reality of the faith of those whose motives, in this strange jumble of politics and religion, are so extraordinarily mixed. John says (*H.E.* iv. 30), 'God, who knows all things and who had forethought for his real good, commanded that his death should overtake him on his way to Alexandria,' and (iv. 58) 'He Whose Providence watches over the good of His creatures saw

The story of the ultimate results of these heresies, and the policy of Justinian, would bring us down to present-day problems—to the Archbishop's mission to Assyrian Christians and the Mohammedan power in Egypt. For Egypt and Syria were permanently alienated from Constantinople. The Egyptians made no resistance to Chosroes of Persia in 616, and when, after ten years, the Persian power was dislodged the persecution of the Monophysites was recommenced, and was being carried on with much cruelty by the last prefect and 'Melchite' patriarch, Cyrus, at the time of the Arab invasions. Egypt was thus an easy prey, and, although the native population does not seem at first actively to have supported the Arabs, yet they soon found that the yoke of the Arabs was much lighter than that of the Byzantines, and after 645 they definitely took the Arab side. Syria fared similarly. The population felt little regret at the withdrawal of Heraclius after 636, and the contrast between the easy submission of the Syrian Christians to the rule and the religion of the Caliphate and the vigorous resistance of the Iranian subjects of the Sassanids shows the evil effect of the politico-religious strife.

Christianity has always shown itself incompatible with a pure nationalism, and hence, when the Church of Constantinople itself was left isolated, it, too,

perchance and know that the journey was neither for his own good, nor for that of the Church, and therefore hindered and prevented his arrival.'

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suffered a loss of spirituality,[1] until—as in so many parts of Eastern Christendom to-day—the one redeeming feature that remained was the simple piety of an uneducated laity.

[1] Dufouroq points out that the Iconoclastic decrees, which went right against the popular devotion, were only tolerated in Constantinople because they were strongly opposed by Rome. Dufouroq (*L'Avenir du Christianisme, Le passé Chrétien—L'Epoque méditerranéenne*, iv. 332) says rightly, 'L'attitude anti-romaine des Monophysites survit à la mort du Monophysisme dans l'Empire,' and (iv. p. 339n.), 'De plus en plus, l'Eglise byzantine se "décatholicise" et se "nationalise."' Cf. the acts and claims of the Council 'in Trullo' of 691.

CHAPTER V

HERESY AND NATIONALISM IN THE WEST: THE BARBARIANS

If the heresies in the East tended to cause the disruption of the Eastern Empire into ineffective nationalities that took one master only to spite another, the Arian heresy was prolonging the slow death of the Empire in the West, or—and it is perhaps more true to put it so [1]—hindering the rebirth of the new spiritual Empire. The history of Africa and Italy is complicated by the rejection on the part of the orthodox of the condemnation of the Three Chapters, but the main feature of the West, after the coming of the barbarians, is the part played by the Arian heresy in preventing the amalgamation of conqueror and conquered, or in expressing their mutual hostility.[2]

[1] It is impossible to go into this question here. Perhaps the idea of a 'fall of the Roman Empire' is least harmful if it is used to mark the period of the events which form the transition from 'antiquity' to the 'middle ages.' This transition, which at bottom was more subjective than objective, seems actually to occur about the time of the Lombard invasions—*v.* L. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, v.

[2] It is unfortunate that this subject has not been treated as it deserves since Révillout's excellent work on *The Arianism of the German Peoples*. To Révillout's book this chapter is much indebted.

The imperial government itself was largely responsible for the Arianism of the Goths. They had become Christians for other than dogmatic reasons—their conversion was due to admiration for the *πολιτείαν ἄμεμπτον*[1] of their Christian captives; they were easily persuaded by Ulfilas, the greatest of missionaries to the Goths, to consent to the Arianism imposed by Valens as the price for allowing a Gothic settlement in Moesia and Lower Scythia; Ulfilas told his people that Arianism differed from Catholicism only in words.[2] Their motives for conversion to Christianity and for adopting Arianism thus being non-intellectual, one would expect that the remarkable manner in which Arianism persisted among them was due to reasons other than that of intellectual conviction. The Goths never produced a philosophic theologian: their attitude towards the Arian creed was one of sentimental loyalty; this loyalty was often transformed in their great men into a romantic devotion, worthy of that of Charles I, to religious belief in the face of political expediency; Aspar, for example, who set Leo on the throne, might have become Emperor himself, or Gelimer, after his capture, would have been *ἐς πατρικίους ἀνάγραπτος*[3] by Justinian had they been willing to renounce Arianism.

[1] Soz. 2. 6. Cf. *ibid. θαυμάζοντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν παραδόξων ἔργων.*

[2] Actually the Visigoths long remained only semi-Arian. Cf. Theod. 2. 37, *μείζονα μὲν τὸν πάτερα λέγουσι τοῦ υἱοῦ· κτίσμα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχοντο.*

[3] Proc. *B.V.* ii. 9.

To understand the Gothic point of view, it must be remembered that Arianism was to most of the Goths a rise, not a fall, for the majority came to it from heathendom, not catholicism. By its means they had attained to a higher morality [1] and a higher view of God; through it they had learned the sacramental idea in its purest sense.[2] Further, their reverence for Ulfilas, a 'second Moses,' was very great, and they had his authority for the acceptance of Arianism. The authority of Ulfilas was carried on in his translation of the Bible, towards which the Christianised Germans felt much as their pagan fathers had felt towards their runes.[3]

Many of the Goths, again, had received Roman civilisation and Arianism at the same time, and by blending the two they could preserve their own nationality, while assimilating the features they admired within the Empire; they could satisfy at once their liking for the civilisation and their contempt

[1] Cf. the moderation of the Visigoths after the capture of Rome (S. Aug. *De civ. Dei*, lib. 4), or the horror of the Vandals at African immorality (Salvian *de Gub. Dei*, 4).

[2] Cf. for the impression this idea made upon the Teutonic peoples the demand of the Saxons in England to receive the 'white bread' of the Eucharist.

[3] *v.* H. von Schubert, *Das älteste germanische Christentum* (Tübingen, 1909). The author's thesis is that the German Arianism, which he regards as a kind of pre-Lutheran Protestantism, is 'eine ausgesprochene nationale Grosse' (p. 14), based upon the Bible of Ulfilas. For the emphasis laid by the Germans upon the 'written word' he quotes Salvian's mention of the fact that the Vandals consulted it before battle (Salv. *de Gub. Dei*, vii. 46). The Goths could not find in their Bible the terms used to defend the orthodox position against Arianism.

for the inhabitants of the Empire. The fact that in Arianism the Goths had a Christianity which was not that of their subjects naturally made devotion to Arianism synonymous with Gothic patriotism; the Arian belief came to be termed 'Gothica lex'; the Vandals called the Catholics 'Roman';[1] the Arian bishop Cyrila, at a Council of Carthage, as we have already noticed, made a point of not understanding Latin. It was natural that Gothic converts from Arianism should change their Teutonic for Roman names—Hermenigild, for example, was renamed John[2]—and that the Church should show a particular solicitude for the conversion of Romans who had adopted the Arian heresy, and should forbid in the strongest terms any intermarriage with Arians.

Hence in the Gothic kingdoms differences of religious belief were also differences of nationality; the Gothic kings, in their attempt to conciliate the provincials, found the Catholic Church an insuperable barrier; it defied open violence and secret bribes; like the Druids of pre-Christian Gaul and Britain, it kept alive national resistance.[3]

But apart from conviction and sentiment, the Gothic kings found Arianism politically advantageous;[4] it gave them control over the

[1] *v.* Vict. Vit. ii. 18.

[2] *v.* Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* v. 39.

[3] *v.* the correspondence of Sidonius Apollinaris or the *Vita S. Severini* for the way in which Catholic bishops saw to the care of the vanquished, ransomed prisoners, relieved distress, and championed the provincials against local Gothic usurpations.

[4] *v.* Révillout, *op. cit.*, in the chapter on the Arian Church.

Church, in a way that they never could have controlled the Catholics. The lack of any centralised authority to symbolise a greater than national unity or to act—like the great councils—as a means of bringing the opinion of the whole Church to bear against the oppression of a particular ruler, the very chaos and diversity of the Arians amongst themselves,[1] put the Arians at the mercy of the temporal power. Arian bishops had from the first bowed to the temporal authority; they had called the Emperor the bishop of bishops, and supreme judge in matters of faith. The barbarian bishops were forced to do likewise; in Spain Leovigild once ordered them to come to terms with the Catholics, and modify their liturgy accordingly; in Africa Hunneric put to death two bishops without a trial. The Arians found also that they needed the support of the secular arm to maintain their churches anywhere apart from the centres of Gothic settlement—outside, that is to say, Byzacene in Africa, Narbonne and Toulouse in Gaul, and the district of Flaminia in Italy.

Lastly, the Arian Gothic princes found it almost impossible to relinquish their position, because the surrender of their Arianism would have meant an intolerable loss of prestige; as it was, they had to humble themselves into employing Roman officials and submitting to the Roman bureaucracy. Once the Catholic party had become definitely nationalistic

[1] The terms of the Council of Rimini, upon which the little that there was of Arian unity was based, were in themselves ambiguous.

the surrender was impossible; there might be toleration for a time; ultimately conflict was inevitable.

This unavoidable necessity proved the ruin of the Gothic kingdoms. The Catholics were eager for Byzantine interference; Justinian's invasion was welcomed by the provincials; orthodoxy—except in part of Spain—was re-established; Africa and Italy restored to the immediate control of the Empire, though Justinian only made a wilderness, which he called peace.

We may trace these political effects of Arianism first in Gaul and Spain. Here Byzantine influence was least felt, but in Gaul a Teutonic power became Catholic and at once conquered the other Gothic nations, and in Spain the Byzantine armies were invited by Catholic Visigoths, who only realised their mistake—from a national point of view—when it was too late.

To estimate the religious conditions of Spain at the time of the barbarian invasions it is necessary to discuss Priscillianism. The protest against the outwardly changed character of the Church, which had in Africa taken the form of Donatism, showed itself in Priscillianism in Spain. But Priscillianism arose later than Donatism, and is therefore of a different character.

Matters had developed; the fall in the general level of Christian practice, which the more conscientious among the Donatists had feared, was an actual problem of Church life; but, on the other hand, a

reaction had set in, under the form of the ascetic movement whereby the most ardent spirits voluntarily adopted the vigorous self-discipline and the chastening of the flesh which had been inflicted upon the pre-Constantinian Church from without. Spanish religion had always been of an institutional character. Spain was the first to erect an altar to the divinity of the Emperors;[1] Hosius of Cordova was Constantine's chief adviser in the crucial period from 313 to 325, during which the relation of the State towards Christianity was radically altered; the Spaniard Theodosius was the first to make the organisation of the State subservient in theory to that of the Christian Church. The few great men whom Spanish Christianity produced were of the same type as Hosius,[2] who is admirably summed up by Leclercq: 'He gave heed only to truth and to duty. By that privilege which belongs to men who are very narrow, truth and duty appeared to him to be without complexity, and to be perfectly plain; so that he marched straight ahead and with all his powers.'[3]

Into this mediocrity, which he himself shared, was born Priscillian, a man of good family, education, and wealth. Priscillian's preaching of asceticism and his semi-Gnostic[4] doctrines soon attracted a following which included two bishops. The new

[1] At Tarragona.

[2] Prudentius is an exception to this generalisation; but Prudentius also was a Spaniard.

[3] Leclercq, *L'Espagne Chrétienne*, p. 95.

[4] *v. infra*, p. 75.

sect was condemned at a council held at Saragossa in 380; the Priscillianists kept their enemies at bay for a time by bribing the imperial officials; but there is little doubt that the 'most Christian emperor' Gratian—who had in 382 ordered all the Priscillianists 'extra omnes terras propelli'— would sooner or later have seen to their suppression. Their end was hastened, however, by the advent of the usurper Maximus. Before Maximus Ithacius of Ossobona pursued Priscillian relentlessly, and, though the presence of S. Martin for some time prevented extreme measures from being taken, Priscillian was ultimately put to death while S. Martin was out of the way.

M. Lavertujon,[1] in his study of Sulpicius Severus, has attempted to show that the hostility to Priscillian was simply due to the dislike felt by worldly bishops and a corrupt Church against an ascetic movement of learned puritans, and that the rigour of Maximus was a very subtle stroke of policy whereby he—Maximus—the Rutupinus latro, secured the support of the degenerate episcopate and the confiscated wealth of the Priscillianists.

In this theory there is undoubtedly much truth. Sulpicius Severus says frankly that the accusers pleased him no more than the accused; Ithacius was proud, spendthrift, impudent, and sensual. That

[1] *Sulpicius Severus*, edited with notes, essays, and an introduction by André Lavertujon. Paris 1899. v. esp. introd. to vol. ii. pp. lix–lxxxviii. and pp. 564–567.

Maximus looked to gain from the matter is quite clear from his proposal to send tribunes to Spain, to undertake active persecution.

On the other hand, all the charges against Priscillian have some foundation; his doctrines were vague—they were, in Leclercq's[1] words, at bottom little else than 'one solution the more, a solution in part suggested previously, of the question of the origin of evil'—but they were definitely heretical on the questions of the inspiration, and the canon, of the Scriptures, and Priscillian's own writings contain traces of the secret doctrines of which his adversaries accused him. He was not above bribing imperial officials, and where his account—in the 'Liber ad Damasum'—of the Council of Saragossa differs from that in Sulpicius Severus, Priscillian seems either to have lied directly, or to have made some obscure reservations akin to lying. The Priscillianists were one of those parasitic forms of 'enthusiastic' and 'enlightened' Christianity, which draw nearly all their personnel and all the solid framework for their ecstasy from the institutional religion which they abuse as lazy or obscurantist.[2]

There was therefore some ground for the excommunication of Priscillian and the anathematising, after the uncompromising fashion of the time, of his beliefs and his followers. But this does not in any

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 156.

[2] The impression which Priscillian makes upon one is that his most prominent and most objectionable characteristic was priggishness.

way justify the death-penalty, and, not to misjudge the Church of the time, it must be kept in view that there was a general outcry against this penalty. Not S. Martin and the ascetics only, but the Church as a whole, demanded and obtained the deposition of the leaders of the accusing party.

There is no reason, therefore, on this ground to postulate the extremely low state of Christian morality which is assumed by M. Lavertujon.[1] The moral evils against which the Church councils legislate cannot be regarded as anything more than extreme cases; S. Augustine speaks of bishops who fled before the barbarian invaders, but these do not seem to have been very numerous; and in S. Augustine's further mention of the 'falsas perniciosasque doctrinas quae animas Hispanorum, multo infelicius quam corpora barbaricus gladius, trucidarunt,' there is no attack against the general morality either of clergy or laity. The persistence of doctrinal errors to which S. Augustine refers may be due in part to the physical characteristics of the country: its high mountains and barren uplands have always produced a dangerous isolation.

[1] *v. supra*, p. 74. M. Lavertujon quotes (1) S. Jerome, as representing the ascetics; but S. Jerome is notoriously guilty of rhetorical exaggeration, and (2) Drepanius Pacatus, the official panegyrist of Theodosius, as showing the reaction against the monastic protest. But in a speech delivered to Theodosius 'nimia religio' could not possibly mean 'too much religion.' The evidence of Julian (*v.* Julian, *Ep.* 42) shows that the recognition of the Church by the State was not—at all events up to twenty years before Priscillian—followed by any great lowering of the standards of morality.

Priscillianism, in its semi-Gnostic, semi-Manichaean forms, persisted for two centuries in the mountains of Asturia and Calabria, and this same isolation showed itself in the character of the resistance to the Goths; cities fought by themselves,[1] great landed proprietors acquired independent principalities.[2] The brightest feature of the Church is undoubtedly, however, its resistance to the Arianism of the Teutons.

The Church in Gaul resembled in its main features that of Spain, but the level of its life was higher, and it had always produced a number of prominent men, who played a part in the general activities of the Church outside Gaul itself. The Gallo-Roman aristocracy,[3] who had been the natural leaders of the people in pagan times, and who had shown a real capacity in the short rule of Avitus, formed, naturally again, the source from which was drawn the personnel of the Gallic episcopate. The troubles of the barbarian invasions, and the distress caused by frequent famines and pestilences, made the people of Gaul choose their bishops not so much for their spiritual qualities as for their wealth and ability to defend them. Consequently, the bishops came

[1] One of the isolated bishops—Turribius of Astorga—complained in a letter to S. Leo that the orthodox had themselves become so lax that 'ad unum altare diversis fidei sensibus convenitur.' It should be remembered, for instance, that to S. Hilary even unwitting reception of the Eucharist from a heretic meant damnation.

[2] John Biclarensis (sub anno vii. Leov.) shows how successfully some of these held out against the Visigoths.

[3] For the prominence of this nobility under the Teutons *v. infra*, p. 86 and note.

to be taken, with still more reason, almost entirely from the aristocracy, and it says much for them and for the Gallo-Roman aristocracy in general that they managed to combine the functions of a temporal with those of a spiritual pastorate.

Partly through the prominence of this cosmopolitan nobility, which was yet firmly rooted in Gaul, the Gallic Church was more in touch with new movements than was the Church in Spain. The monastic idea, which had been introduced by S. Athanasius during his exile at Trèves, took a great hold and led to the rise of a new type of bishop, such as S. Martin, and the establishment of monastic houses of mission priests on a system admirably suited for the evangelisation of the remoter and still pagan country districts. It is the combination of the cultured aristocrat, like Sidonius Apollinaris, and the enthusiastic monk, like S. Martin, that gives to the fifth- and sixth-century episcopate in Gaul, and to men of the type of S. Paulinus of Nola, such peculiar excellence.

The Gallic Church was not much troubled by heresy; it had generally succeeded in preserving a simple orthodoxy before the refinements of metaphysics. S. Hilary had been exiled for his strong language in a letter written (in the name of the clergy of Gaul) to the Arian Emperor Constantius. During the Pelagian controversy Gaul tried at first to keep what seemed to be a mean between the excessive fatalism of Augustine and the dangerous freedom

of Pelagius; but, owing chiefly to Prosper of Aquitaine and Caesarius of Arles, the semi-Pelagians were ultimately defeated.

The part played by national antipathies focusing themselves on the religious differences is often lost sight of by over-emphasising the horrors of the invasions and the hardships of Gothic rule. But as raiders the Goths were, for the provincials, little worse than the mutinous, ill-paid, and equally barbarian soldiers of the Empire. As immigrants, the Visigoths and Burgundians passed into Gaul, the Ostrogoths into Italy, with at least the nominal sanction of the Empire: as non-urban settlers, they were an economic gain to countries where depopulation was the greatest evil; the rich land-owners of Gaul are still found wealthy after the invasions.[1] In Aquitaine the coming of the Visigoths seems to have been part of a scheme of self-government instituted by Honorius; the Burgundians were particularly mild, and the pagan Franks showed some respect for Christianity. Childeric is said to have granted to S. Geneviève the lives of a number of condemned prisoners, and Christian symbols were found among the objects buried with him.[2] S. Remigius was the most influential personage in the whole of North Gaul.

The worst damage was done by the Vandals, but it

[1] E.g. the famous Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, and Sidonius Apollinaris.

[2] Cf. the letter of S. Remigius to Clovis (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Epp. Merov. et Carol. aevi* 113): Non est novum ut coeperis esse quod parentes tui semper fuerunt. The whole of this letter shows how great was the prestige of the Church.

is unfair to judge them by their pillage when invaders,[1] or by the piracy of the early days of their conquest.[2] Once they had settled down the Vandals were a peaceful people of agricultural and pastoral pursuits; Procopius described some of their gardens and orchards as the finest he had ever seen, and adds that the Vandals delighted in music and the theatre.[3]

The barbarian governments acted very largely through Roman officials, and, if we judge by Cassiodorus, or regard Sidonius Apollinaris as representative of the coterie who cultivated friendship with the barbarian kings in Gaul, there was no lack of well-trained and high-principled counsellors. The barbarians did not need to collect such vast revenue as the Emperor; their courts were less expensive; they had not to support mercenaries and pay large subsidies. In spite of all this, every barbarian kingdom in turn was driven to a policy of religious persecution, and was ultimately overthrown; the one exception being that of the Franks, who became Catholics before it was too late.[4]

The first to fall were the Visigoths and the Burgundians in Gaul. Sidonius Apollinaris says,

[1] The European Powers of to-day would probably not wish to be judged by the last capture of Pekin. [This was written before the German invasion of Belgium in 1914.]

[2] This piracy was encouraged by Gaiseric as a 'safety-valve,' that he might secure peace in Africa.

[3] Proc. *B.V.* ii. 3 and 6, and i. 17.

[4] The Visigoths indeed preserved part of their kingdom in Spain, but only after they had lost the southern half to Catholic armies. Their final conversion to Catholicism was a virtual surrender to the provincials.

with reference to Theodoric II of the Visigoths, that he is 'laudaturus vitae tam dulcatae ingenuitatem.'[1] At first the Visigoths confirmed the privileges of the Church. But Euric, who, after murdering his brother Theodoric in 467, had extended the Visigothic power to the Ebro, and posed as a kind of general lord of the West, found that the opposition to his rule came chiefly from Catholic bishops of semi-independent sees; whereupon 'the wolf's tooth began to be seen.'[2] The Burgundians and Suevi were converted to Arianism, while Euric, not yet openly persecuting the Catholics, kept sees and benefices vacant, that the Church might perish of inanition.[2] The opposition of Catholic to Arian showed itself in Sidonius, the erstwhile friend of Gothic rule, now bishop of Clermont, who was imprisoned by Euric for encouraging the resistance of the Arverni. The futility of these efforts was soon manifest: many of the Gallo-Romans whom Euric had to employ in his government protected the Catholics; Leo, the royal quaestor and secretary of state, was himself a Catholic, and procured Sidonius' restoration. The opposition soon brought about the total downfall of Visigothic power in Gaul, through the instrumentality of the Frankish Clovis.

With the defeat of Syagrius in 484 and the extension of his kingdom to the Loire, Clovis had proclaimed himself a Christian. At once the Catholics

[1] Sid. Ap. *Ep.* i. 2.
[2] *Ibid.* viii. 9: Sacerdotium moritur, non sacerdos.

of Gaul looked to him for support.[1] The southern bishops and the Gallo-Roman population did not know the Franks close at hand, but they knew that Clovis had been baptised by S. Remigius; that he had been blessed by Solemnis of Chartres before his campaign against the Alamanni. Alaric II of the Visigoths was unable to conciliate the Catholics by publishing the 'Breviarium'—a revised Theodosian code—with the assent of a gathering of bishops and nobles, or by allowing a Church council to be held. His concessions were put down to fear; the sympathy of the provincials regarded the Catholic Clovis as representing the Empire: his war of conquest would be a holy war. The pope spoke to him as 'corona nostra,' in whom 'speramus in spem contra spem'; Byzantium gave him the title of patrician.

After his victory at Vouglé (507) Clovis naturally acted as a Catholic and a Roman against heretics and barbarians. He drove out and enslaved the Arians —many of S. Remigius' slaves had Gothic names,— restored the privileges of the Church, and gave the Church in his own kingdom vast lands in Acquitaine; he received advice from bishops and held councils;[2] he regarded himself almost as a Roman Emperor of the West; he was called Augustus, wore Roman

[1] *v.* Proc. *Goth. Wars*, i. 12. The Arboruchi joined the Franks because both were Christian; so did certain Roman soldiers who had been left on guard at the extremities of Gaul and would not join the Arians. (It throws a sidelight on the contemporary English history that these soldiers did not think of migrating to South-west Britain.]

[2] E.g. at Orleans in 511.

garments, minted gold coins in his own image,[1] had senators, officials, and a court. Naturally Justinian sought the alliance of the Franks against the Arian Ostrogoths for a war *ὃν ἡμῖν κοινὸν εἶναι ποιεῖ δόξα τε ὀρθὴ, ἀποσειομένη τὴν Ἀρειανῶν γνώμην, καὶ τὸ ἐς Γότθους ἀμφοτέρων ἔχθος.*"[2]

The history of the Visigoths in Spain shows the same tendencies. Theudas, who ruled the kingdom first as Viceroy and then as King, adopted the policy of enlightened toleration; councils were held, and even anti-Arian laws passed. Agila attempted once again to consolidate the Visigothic power by crushing the Catholics. Baetica was semi-independent and catholic. Agila therefore transferred his capital to Merida, but at once the Catholics revolted under a Gothic noble, Athanagild, and appealed to Justinian for aid.

The Emperor's designs on Spain had already shown themselves in his occupation of Septem. He now sent Liberius, the conqueror of Sicily, to Baetica with a fleet and army. The Byzantines made great headway, and had won the country as far as the Guadalquivir, when the Visigoths of Agila's party 'metuentes ne Spaniam milites auxilii occasione invaderent' assassinated Agila, and offered the throne to Athanagild. They did not succeed, however, in retaking the districts occupied by the imperialists—the Catholic population was too strong for them—and it is significant that with the revival

[1] Proc. *Goth. Wars*, iii. 33. [2] *Ibid.* i. 5.

of the anti-Catholic policy under Leovigild (569–586) the southern part of the kingdom revolted under his son Hermenigild, who had turned Catholic. Leovigild was strong enough to suppress the rebels, but after his death, his other son Reccared became a Catholic, and easily put down the nationalistic revolts which marked the last efforts of Arianism. Gregory the Great says[1] that Leovigild recognised the failure of his policy, and asked bishop Leander to educate Reccared as he had educated Hermenigild.

The fall of the Burgundians makes a similar story. The Burgundian kings had Roman titles (patricius or magister militum) and at first were Catholic; their conversion was, as we have seen, part of the policy of Euric; it was with the rise of Gundobaud, after 474, that the division between Arian and Catholic made itself felt. Gallo-Roman sympathy turned, as elsewhere, to Clovis. In vain Gundobaud at once tried to be reconciled with Clovis: he cultivated the friendship of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, and allowed Arians to be converted. The policy of Gundobaud after the invasion of Clovis is very interesting. The Gallo-Romans were predominant on the plains, the Burgundians in the uplands towards the Alps and Jura. Gundobaud tried to conciliate both parties by associating his Catholic son Sigismund with him in kingship. The Catholic party grew in numbers; 'conditores earum [i.e. Arian basilicas] ad catholicam se legem erroris

[1] Greg. Magn. *Dial.* iii. 31.

correctione transtulerunt';[1] but they were disloyal to the Burgundian kingship for the significant reason 'poterit forsitan haereticus quicumque regnare.'[2] This disunion in the kingdom effectively prevented the Burgundians from playing any important part in the history of Gaul, and finally resulted in Frankish conquest, whereby the Church was protected.[3]

In Italy the fall of the Arian Ostrogoths was definitely brought about by the armies of Byzantium, but the victory of these armies, in spite of the incompetence of some generals, the treachery of others, the domineering religious policy of Justinian and his later neglect of Italian affairs, was largely due to the failure of the Goths to conciliate the Roman population, and to this national hatred showing itself in religious differences—though, notwithstanding the presence of the bishop of Rome, these religious differences were less felt in Italy, because of the strength of the pagan tradition and the literary paganism of the senatorial class.

The aim of Theodoric, the greatest of all the Gothic kings, had been to secure abroad a league of Gothic peoples, and at home the unanimity of Roman and Goth, the latter gradually becoming romanised. His main principle was 'Romanus miser Gothum imitatur; utilis Gothus imitatur

[1] Avitus, *Ep.* vi. 139.

[2] A fear which, as we have seen, played a part in destroying Justinian's compromises. *v.* Proc. *Goth. Wars*, i. 13.

Romanum';[1] the panegyrics of Ennodius show how all the high posts were filled by Romans, of whom Cassiodorus is the most famous; Theodoric even kept Romans in important military commands.[2] The corn doles were continued, and, Arian though he was, Theodoric at first treated the pope with great respect. Neither he nor his predecessor Odovacar persecuted the Catholics; in an Italy wasted by plague, famine, and invader after invader, made bankrupt of men and energy by the continual pressure of imperial exactions, there was ample room for the Goths, and the Romans themselves might have come to terms with a king who appointed a Curator Statuarum to look after ancient monuments.

But Theodoric failed. Abroad his coalition policy was ruined by the Catholic Franks; at home the Senate, from which he drew his officials, remained, as a whole, intensely anti-Gothic;[3] and his reign ended in bloodshed and coercion. Parties in the Church appealed to him to decide in the disputed succession after the death of Pope Anastasius;[4] the supporters of Laurentius calumniated his rival

[1] Cf. 'Gothorum laus est civilitas custodita.' Civilitas here—the context is a letter of Athalaric to Gildilas, Count of Syracuse—probably means 'civil process' as opposed to 'private war.'

[2] E.g. in the neighbourhood of Ravenna one finds a Constantinus, an Agupitus, an Honoratus.

[3] The eagerness—noted by Ennodius—to obtain official posts is no evidence against this. The civil service was Roman, and eagerness for the post does not imply affection for the sovereign.

[4] *Lib. Pont.* liii. But even here the Laurentian fragment makes Theodoric interfere on his own initiative. The *Lib. Pont.* is here, according to Duchesne, the work of a contemporary.

Symmachus before the Emperor, but the Catholic Church was doctrinally suspicious of Theodoric, and the conflict came in the time of Pope John.

The 'Liber Pontificalis' may speak for itself.[1] 'Hic (i.e. Johannes) vocitus est a rege Theodorico Ravenna quem ipse rex rogans misit in legationem Constantinopolim ad Justinum imperatorem orthodoxum quia eodem tempore Justinus imperator, vir religiosus, summo ardoris amore religionis Christianae voluit haereticos extricare. Nam summo fervore Christianitatis hoc consilio usus est ut ecclesias Arrianorum catholicas consecraret. Pro hanc causam haereticus rex Theodoricus audiens hoc exarsit et voluit totam Italiam ad gladium extinguere.' Theodoric compelled the pope and certain senators to go on an embassy to Byzantium, requesting that the Church authorities at Constantinople should give back 'ecclesias haereticis in partes Orientis; quod si non omnem Italiam ad gladio perderet.' In the absence of the ambassadors Theodoric put to death the Catholic senators Symmachus and Boethius.[2]

When the embassy returned 'revertentes Johannes venerabilis papa et senatores cum gloria, dum omnia obtinuissent[3] a Justino Augusto; rex Theodoricus

[1] *Lib. Pont.* lv. Again, according to Duchesne, the work of a contemporary. The *Anonymus Valesii*, 88–93, tells the same story.

[2] The *Anon. Val.*, 85–87, puts the death of Boethius before the departure of the Embassy. Both *A.V.* and *L.P.* agree as to the death of Symmachus, and *A.V.* gives as Theodoric's motive a fear 'ne aliquid regnum eius [Symmachus] tractaret.'

[3] This can be reconciled with the *A.V.* Justin seems to have granted the giving back of the Churches 'propter sanguinem Romanum,'

cum grande dolo et odio suscepit eos . . . quos etiam gladio voluit interficere; sed metuens indignationem Justini Augusti, quos tamen in custodia omnes adflictos cremavit ita ut . . . papa . . . in custodia adflictus moreretur.' Theodoric's fears led him to forbid Romans to bear arms, and a persecution was almost begun; a Catholic oratory at Verona actually was destroyed. But Theodoric did not long survive Pope John.

The murder of Amalasuntha in 535, nine years after the death of Theodoric, gave Justinian his opportunity; the Catholics might well have expected persecution at the hands of the neo-platonist king Theudas[1] or of a more violent successor. In spite of the never dying prejudice against the Greeks,[2] they welcomed the imperial forces with eagerness; the pope Silverius persuaded the Romans to send messengers of encouragement to Belisarius in South Italy, although in the very same year Agapetus, Silverius' predecessor, had been harshly treated by Justinian and had called him 'a Diocletian rather than a most Christian Emperor.'

as the first edition of the *L.P.* says (*v.* Duchesne, *L.P.* i. 104 and note on p. 277), but Theodoric seems to have commanded the pope to ask for the restitution of convicted Arians to their ancient sect (cf. *Ann. Max.* i. 88, ed. Mommsen), 'ut reconciliatos haereticos nequaquam in catholicam restituat religionem.' This demand, as Duchesne points out, the pope could not possibly have made. Hence, as the question was never asked, there was no definite refusal, and a Catholic could say that the mission had been a success.

[1] Proc. *Goth. Wars*, i. 3.

[2] *Ibid* i. 18; iii. 9; iii. 21; iv. 22, and *Hist. Arc.* 24. Cf. Claudian *in Eutropium*, ii. 36. Cf. the opposition to the candidature of the Greek Dioscurus for the papacy in 530.

We have already seen how Justinian invited the Theudibert of the Franks to aid him, on the ground of their common orthodoxy, against an Arian enemy. This hostility to Arianism, as the creed of a hated foe, displayed itself throughout the dreary years of the ruin of Italy. Procopius says that after the publication of Totila's letter to the Senate, the Roman leaders put all the Arian priests to death.[1] Vigilius continually urged the Emperor, when he seemed oblivious to the fate of the half-conquered, half-desolated Italy, *Ιταλίας μεταποιεῖσθαι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ.*[2] The Catholic Church was finally re-established, and the Goths annihilated. The strength of the orthodox and the weakness of the Arians can be seen in the subsequent half century, when almost by its unaided prestige and organisation the Church subdued the ferocity of the Lombards.[3] Gregory may be said to have succeeded with far less resources in a task far greater than that which was set before Theodoric.

In Africa, as in Italy, the army of Justinian embarked on a holy war against Arians and persecutors of the Church. The Vandal invaders of Africa had arrived when the State had begun a vigorous suppression of the Donatists; and the more extreme members of this heresy welcomed their coming. As soon as they had made a permanent settlement the rule of the Vandals was not intolerable.

[1] Proc. *Goth. Wars*, iii. 9. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 35.

[3] And this in spite of the discord introduced by the Three Chapters controversy.

Procopius, we have seen,[1] speaks of the beauty of their orchards and gardens, of their delight in civilisation, and of the good use they made of the wealth amassed by plunder; but collisions between the two races came, as elsewhere, on questions of religion. Gaiseric treated the lower classes kindly, and relaxed the financial pressure. Towards the Catholics Gaiseric tried at first the plan adopted shortly afterwards by Euric; he deprived the Catholic Church of its leaders, its wealth, and the majority of its buildings, and at the same time offered material advantages to converts to Arianism.

The political character of the persecution can be seen by the way in which it was directed mainly against prominent people—Victor Vitensis significantly says, 'Exaggerabatur ira furoris, ubi honorem conspexerant dignitatem,'—[2] by the severe treatment of those who were suspected of intrigue with non-African Catholics—Felix of Adrumetum was exiled 'quod suscepisset quendam Johannem monachum transmarinum,'—[3] and by the fact that the persecution was moderated after the fall of Roman power in the West. His son Hunneric tried by toleration to win the support of the Catholics for his own family, and, when he failed, sought, until his death in 484, the support of the Arians by an active persecution of Catholics. From 484 to 496, under Gunthamund, the persecution continued; and in the next reign,

[1] *v. supra*, p. 80.
[2] Vic. Vit. 3.
[3] After the capture of Carthage.

when the plan of decoying the Catholics had again failed, persecution was renewed.

But in 523 Hilderic practically surrendered. The Vandal nobility soon grew jealous of the restored Church, and Hilderic fell before a nationalist insurrection under Gelimer. An Arian reaction at once set in. Again Justinian had his opportunity and despatched the expedition of Belisarius. The evidence of Procopius is sufficient to show that not only Justinian, but the orthodox in general, regarded the expedition as a crusade.[1]

It remains to notice, in connection with the religious and political history of Africa, the effect of the controversy on the Three Chapters.

More prominent in general history, but, in Africa, of less importance than the Donatist heresy, is the controversy of the Three Chapters.[2] Here one sees the failure of Justinian's attempt at a compromise, and the vigorous assertion of the national character of the African Church.

The works of Facundus, bishop of Hermiane, give the arguments of the Church. In a letter in defence of the Three Chapters[3] Facundus shows the unwillingness of Africa to purchase a superficial

[1] P. *B. V.* i. 10: the message of the bishop, ἐκ τῆς ἑῴας ἥκων; i. 12, the solemn departure of the fleet. One cannot but see a likeness to the setting sail of the Armada, and a contrast to the more light-hearted pageantry at the departure of the Sicilian expedition from Athens. Cf. also i. 16.

[2] *v. supra*, p. 62.

[3] *Facundi Hermianensis Episcopi Epistola Fidei Catholicae in defensione trium capitulorum.*

unity at the expense of the faith, a recognition of the national traditions of the Church and a dislike of the pretensions of Constantinople.

Who are these, says Facundus, who seek to usurp the privilege of God and judge the quick and dead? 'Nempe in valle Josaphat judicaturus est Dominus omnes gentes . . . Numquid tamen valle Josaphat Constantinopolis . . . numquid caeterae urbes et civitates quae subscripsere . . . decretum?' Of the motives of those who proposed the condemnation Facundus says plainly 'Pro suo libitu modo muneribus corrupti, modo honoribus et ambitionibus illecti, modo etiam peregrinae . . . versutiae doctrina circumducti . . .' To those who claimed that the unity of the faith was not destroyed he gives short shrift. 'Possemus breviter respondere quoniam praecisis sicut docuimus ab unitate Catholica nihil prosit divini nominis verbis fictis facta invocatio.' In support of his contention Facundus quotes a parallel from the previous history of the African Church—a letter of S. Cyprian concerning the usurpations of the Novatian heretics. It is significant that the anathematising party had themselves quoted from African history the words of S. Augustine to the Donatists, 'bona est pax,' etc. In his elaborate work of twelve books Facundus[1] goes further and attacks the root idea of Justinian's Caesaro-papism. In matters of faith princes should obey the Church and not usurp the functions of the priesthood—such

[1] Facundus, *Libri* xii. *in defensione trium capitulorum.*

usurpation never ends well for the prince; witness Zeno, who fell into heresy—Justinian should follow the example of Theodosius and acknowledge his error at once.

Whatever the vacillations of the papacy the African Church stood firm; Vigilius was solemnly excommunicated as a praevaricator;[1] the Emperor summoned the two chief bishops of the African Church to Constantinople, and, when they refused to yield, tried other means than argument. Reparatus of Carthage was banished on a charge of treason; Firmus was won over by gifts. A new bishop was appointed for Carthage and the Church set in an uproar, while the upholders of the imperial position dealt out death and imprisonment to their opponents. But after Justinian's death in 566 the dispute came practically to an end. Justin II, wisely, never committed himself to a definite view, and each side could claim a victory.

[1] Vict. Tunn., sub anno 557.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

THUS we have seen the way in which in the East and in Egypt the Monophysite heresy—the prevailing topic of thought—was used as an instrument for expressing nationalistic feelings; and the way in which in the West the antipathy of Roman and Goth played around the conflict between Catholicism and Arianism—how, owing to sentiment and expediency, Arianism was to the barbarian a 'gothica lex,' and Catholicism to the Roman a *πάτριος δόξα*.[1]

We saw how, at the accession of Justinian, the Church had come to the parting of the ways; how Justinian found Egypt and Syria falling away from the Empire, and the West either under the dominion of the Catholic Franks, or eager for imperial intervention; and how he formed the gigantic scheme of reuniting the civilised world under his own rule in a uniformity of belief and government. This end he tried to secure by war, by grandiloquent and massive legislation, by theological study, and by intrigue—in

[1] v. Proc. *Bell. Vand.* i. 8.

which latter Theodora, herself a Monophysite, willingly worked with him.

The upshot was very pitiful. All the intrigues defeated their own end; the compromise degraded the papacy and only encouraged the pride of the Monophysites; the great words came to nothing; the achievements of conquest fell away into a ruin of misgovernment, rebellion, and disease.

* * * * *

There remain two large questions connected with the political results of the heresies, questions which, in spite of the dangers of generalisation, cannot be left untouched: the first is—are these heresies in any way responsible for the 'decline and fall' of the Roman Empire?

Different historians have given different causes for the fall of the Empire.[1] Gibbon ascribes it mainly to Christianity, which brought with it humility and devotion to works of piety—thus supplanting imperial pride and civic activities—and to monasticism and theological controversy—thus withdrawing numbers of capable men from political life, and setting the remainder to quarrel over irrelevant trifles.

Hodgkin gives six causes: the foundation of Constantinople; Christianity; slavery; corn doles; the destruction of the middle classes; and a barbarous financial system (the last four of these are really all the effects of the cause—a lack of understanding of economic laws).

[1] *v.* note, p. 67, for a qualification of this phrase.

Neise[1] attributes the fall to the decay and insufficiency of the military service—the Empire never recovered from the chaos of the third century—and the financial system which, in spite of the reforms of Diocletian, went from bad to worse.

Finlay emphasises the latter in its practical effects—the oppression of the central government, but he denies that there was any general decadence of humanity.

Seeley[2] agrees with him in this and points out that the Roman armies were, to the last, victorious in battle over the barbarians.[3] The fall of the Empire was, he thought, due rather to the growth of habits of co-operation among the barbarians, and to the δεινὴ ὀλιγανθρωπία (to use Dio Cassius' phrase) of the Roman provinces.

Seeck,[4] on the other hand, points to the general bankruptcy of the Empire in constructive ideas—scarcely any improvement, for example, was introduced into the art of war; as the main reason Seeck gives the continual mowing down of the 'taller stalks'—the wholesale massacres of the best of the population of Italy in the last century of the republic,

[1] Benedict Neise, in the volume of the series *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, edited by himself and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.

[2] *Lectures and Essays.*

[3] The non-military population even in the most luxurious cities was not so decadent as is often imagined. Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* ii. 8) speaks of the valiant resistance made, after the flight of the regular troops, at the capture of Antioch, by many young men 'ὅσοι τὰ πρότερα πρός γε ἀλλήλους στασιάζειν ἐν τοῖς ἱπποδρομίοις εἰώθεσαν.'

[4] Seeck: the section on 'Die Ausrottung der Besten' in his *Geschichte des Unterganges der Antiken Welt.*

the draining of the abilities of the provinces from the time of Marius and Sulla onwards, and the gradual but sure elimination of the most vigorous opponents of Imperialism.

Apart from its dependence upon biological, metaphysical, and historical assumptions [1] which are non-proven, Seeck's explanation explains too much. If the theory of a progressive degeneration holds good within the Empire, it must hold good to a greater degree of the barbarians themselves, and of the middle ages. For the rate of exhaustion would be swifter under less civilised conditions, when brains would be more at the mercy of dull brute force, and the ravages of hunger, pestilence, and war would be still greater.

But in pointing to the fact of a bankruptcy in ideas Seeck is right. One might give, as contributory causes, the fact that the Romans and the provincials tried to develope on lines unfitted for their character.

[1] E.g. for the latter (1) Seeck speaks of the senate as receiving new blood under the Empire. But the newcomers 'succumbed to the inevitable fate' and became weak, subservient, and cringing. Would it not, however, be more true to say that the provincials acquiesced in the excellence of the imperial principle and that those who were 'eliminated' were the selfish and turbulent, like Brutus who aimed at Cæsar's tyranny, the neurotic talkers, like Lucan, and the pigheaded doctrinaires, like Cato? (2) Seeck says that 'the weaker alone bowed down to Roman rule, the stronger took to piracy.' Should we not rather say that 'the stronger and more adaptive minds accepted the higher civilisation that was offered them: the lawless and the merely brutal persisted, as far as they could, in the habits of robbery and murder to which they had become accustomed'? The massacre of the Druids in Britain is perhaps the most important evidence in favour of Seeck's theory, as far as the provinces are concerned.

Rome was under the sway of Greece, the provinces under the sway of Rome; the result was a universal mediocrity that—taking two examples from the sphere of art—was foreign originally to the peculiar genius of Latin metres or late Celtic art—both of which it stifled.[1] Malaria, in the Mediterranean district itself, may have had a demoralising effect. There is abundant room for further investigation; the greater knowledge that archæology is providing of earlier Mediterranean Empires may throw unexpected light on the Roman Empire. But from our point of view the essential fact is that the one exception to this lack of new ideas lies in the development of Christianity.

Gregorovius,[2] who follows Gibbon in making Christianity responsible for the Empire's fall, admits this. An examination of his main charges will make our own point clear. Gregorovius deplores the change from the ideals of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius to those of S. Paulinus of Nola, and adds that the contrast between the young and active Church and the despotic, corrupt, and hopeless State made men shirk their civic life and duties. From

[1] The Roman genius succumbed to Greece when in a more developed stage than the Celtic: hence for a time—while the novelty yet thrilled—the Roman genius was not suffocated by its Greek models; and hence in the later times had, especially in literature, some strong native element upon which to fall back; while 'late-Celtic' art practically disappeared almost at once from Britain and Gaul and the so-called Celtic revival of the fifth century has left little evidence of its return.

[2] *History of the City of Rome.*

this latter charge one would surely draw the consequence that the State was already decaying, and that the Church, so far from being a parasitic growth on the life of the Empire, was—to use a hackneyed metaphor—a new creature, drawing its sustenance elsewhere than from a doomed State. Further, if the life of a nation is that of the people who compose it rather than of the institutions and laws which serve as means to a further end, then the process which Gregorovius regarded as a dissolution was rather one of transformation.[1] More specifically, however, Gregorovius seems to confuse the duties and position of the local curiales and of the centralised bureaucracy. His charge in either case falls to the ground, for if it refers to the curiales the tendency to shirk municipal duties goes back to the time of Pliny, and has no connection with Christianity, orthodox or heterodox; while the career of civil service never lost its attractions: the bureaucracy was continued even under barbarian rule.

Gregorovius' first charge is more fundamental. But if one looks closely, and without prejudice to their holders, what were the ideals of Aurelius and

[1] Light is thrown on this theory if, as is possible for purposes of analysis, we regard the change in the Empire as a change in the connotation of the abstract term 'imperium.' From this point of view the position of a Roman cardinal in England is simply the reverse of that of Gallio in Greece. Three thousand years hence, when the interval from Justinian to Henry III of England means no more than the period of the usurpation of the Hyksos in Egypt means to us, will the system of Papal Provisions be regarded—from a legal point of view—as a continuation of the Roman civil service?

Seneca, beyond 'a few wire-drawn notions about morality'? The good works of aristocratic Gallic bishops were of more political value than the proud humility of Epictetus.[1]

Further, the antithesis of the individual and the State must be worked out somehow in practice; ideas worked out in practice are always pushed beyond the intellectual mean. Stoicism is an over-pushing of the idea of the universal state and the powerlessness of the individual, whom 'ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt'; Christian monasticism pushed individualism too far. But the latter excess was more tolerable to the Empire than the former.[2] For there was needed a corrective to the centralising ideas of the bureaucracy, an assertion—as against the rigid class system—of the right of the individual to reject

[1] It is to be remembered also that there is another side to the Christian attitude towards things physical. Apart from the more general erection of almshouses, hospitals, etc., works of philanthropy which were not confined to Christians, and which were, indeed, often dangerous (e.g. S. Basil's huge foundations at Caesarea) to an empire already overburdened with institutions and officials, the Christian laws denounced unnatural vices on the ground that they violated the 'sanctity of the lodging of the human soul.' Christian opinion demanded that slaves should have Saturday and Sunday as days of holiday. Cf. S. Chrysostom's much-needed counsel that men should marry young, or cf. Constantine's objection to the branding of prisoners.

[2] Christian monasticism has therefore no need to appeal for justification to its by-products. But it must not be forgotten how valuable these by-products were. Pachomian monasteries were of the nature of agricultural colonies (cf. the Cistercians). Monastic missions like those of S. Martin in Gaul or S. Augustine in England were civilising agencies; Justinian used the monasteries on the Sinai road against the Persians; the monks of Africa built great fortresses against the Moors, to the security of which in the late sixth and early seventh centuries men flocked from the North Mediterranean.

his actual circumstances and environment, and to build up his ideal for himself.

The main lines of attack on the social and political effects of Christianity can thus be met, and evidence on the other side can be produced; Seeley, Finlay, and Boissier[1] alike speak of the revival of ideas which Christianity brought about; we have seen how in Greece it provided an intellectual revival and a bond of union. One man—S. Leo—might be mentioned as embodying in his aims and activities the social and political effect of orthodoxy. S. Leo, perhaps the most incisive thinker and strongest man of his time, struggled all his life to weld together under one order and discipline the diverging fragments of the Empire, and, for men bankrupt in ideas and enthusiasm, to set up Christian orthodoxy as an intellectual standard,[2] and the Catholic Church as an object of loyalty.

If Christian orthodoxy was a unifying influence, it naturally followed that the heresies were disruptive of the Empire as a whole, quite apart from any local and incidental trouble they produced. The fact that, accidentally, resistance to them—particularly the resistance in the West to Arianism and also to the dangerous compromise of Justinian—strengthened the unanimity of the orthodox cannot count as a justification. Neither were the heresies an unavoid-

[1] *La Fin du paganisme.*

[2] Cf. Lord Acton's essay on May's *Democracy in Europe* (in *History of Freedom and other Essays*), where he speaks (p. 79) of Christianity as 'making opinion superior to authority.'

able necessity in the development of orthodox dogma. It was inevitable that hypotheses should be propounded which could not be acceptable; it was not inevitable logically, though, humanly, it was rather to be expected that these hypotheses should be stubbornly upheld after their condemnation by a majority in the Church.

The championing of particular heresies by particular nationalities was due, as we have seen, to causes other than intellectual, and had there been no theological disagreements other battle cries would have been found. But the religious differences in themselves, apart from the local patriotism and jealousies with which they were connected, were sufficient to arouse the fiercest passions; and it is probable that the strife might have been less bitter had the instruments been less dangerous; though, again, it must be remembered that the fusion of religion and politics was, in what we have called a Christian age, almost unavoidable.

The second question we can only touch upon, because it cannot be answered completely on historical grounds; nevertheless it must be faced, in spite, again, of the great dangers of generalisation; what is the value to civil society of a Christian age? What criterion of value are we to apply? Gibbon regarded the age of the Antonines as the happiest in human history; compared with that age, or the age of Walpole, a period dominated by Christian ideas and what, so far, have been their concomi-

tants, is certainly less happy. But is happiness the true criterion? Should we look rather to creative art, and judge, for example, the age of Justinian by the Church of the Holy Wisdom, or by the haunting mosaics of Ravenna? Here the historian can point out to the philosopher that no age can be judged by its visible works of art, for accident so much determines whether a man will be able to express the art that is in him. Our field of survey, then, must be wider.

Might it be said that an age is to be judged, as far as possible, by the extent to which its popular conceptions and ideals reveal the whole content of human experience and satisfy the widest human needs? Such a standard would indeed cut across many views of history. It would justify Rousseau and discredit Burke; but it gives a basis for judging the value of a Christian age, and it was the standard adopted by Justinian when he said that a good world order must be founded upon the most accurate and comprehensive view of God and man.

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